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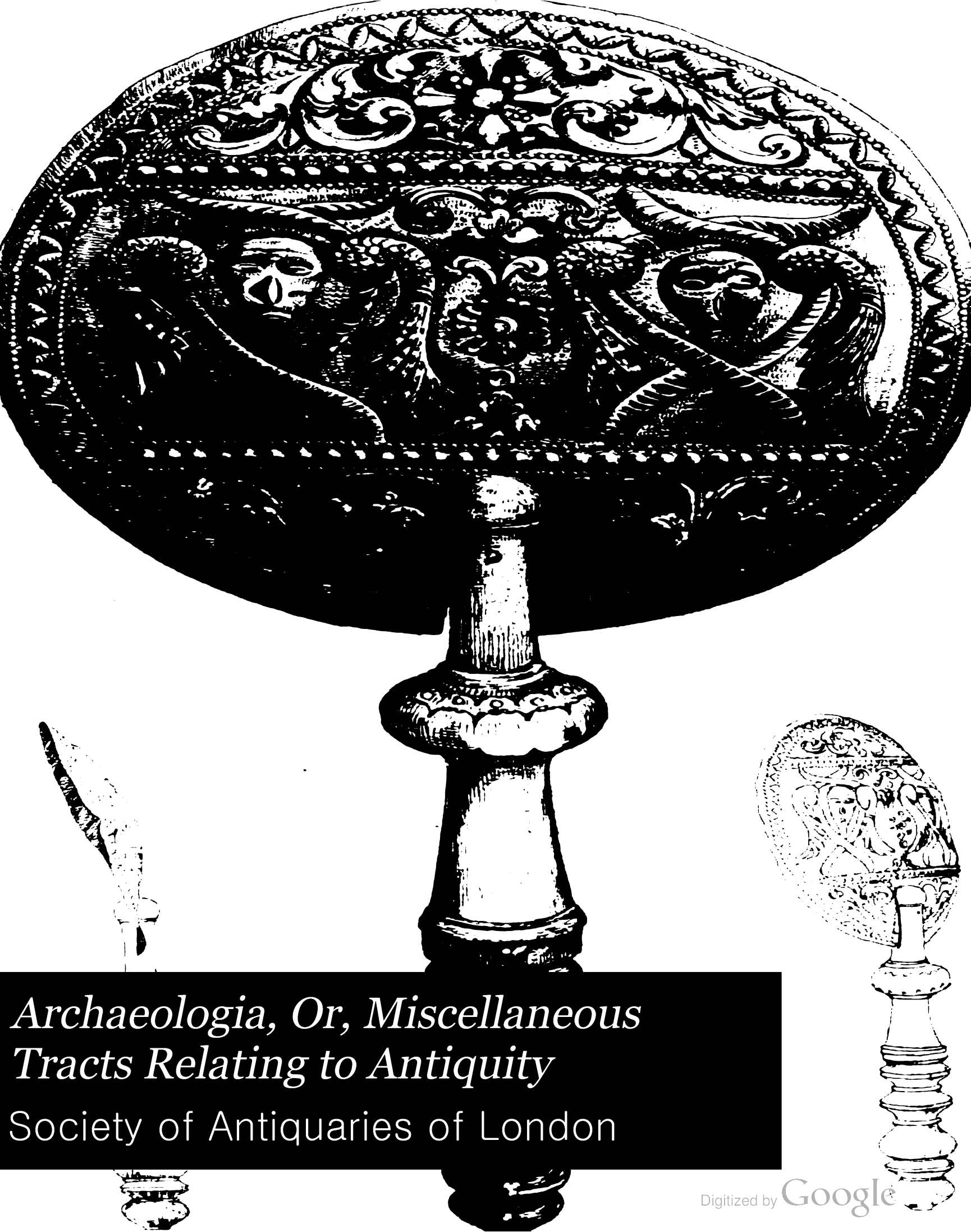
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CORRECTIONS.

Page 100, line 19, *for* " III." *read* " IV."

Plate II., *for* " Askos from *Salonæ*" *read* " Akos from Risano."

Page 253, line 21, *for* " Buckinghamshire" *read* " Bedfordshire."

„ 274, line 7, *for* " Arras" *read* " Arles."

„ 303, line 24, *for* " Fellowes" *read* " Fellows."

„ 304, footnote, line 4, *for* " Fellowes" *read* " Fellows."

„ 322, line 18, *for* " Mr. A. Evans" *read* " Mr. A. J. Evans."

X.—*Extracts from Lincoln Episcopal Visitations in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries.* Communicated by EDWARD PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Read April 12, 1883.

THE following extracts have been made by me, by the kind permission of the Bishop of Lincoln, from certain fragments of visitation books and detached papers connected therewith in the possession of his lordship. They range from 1473 to 1627, and are, as will be seen, of very varying degrees of interest; some of them are perhaps so trivial that it may seem almost an intrusion to bring them under the notice of the Society of Antiquaries; but all have at least a local interest, and the originals from which they are copied are many of them in a state of such rapid decay that it is to be feared, if they be not now preserved by being printed, that all memory of them may be lost.

1473.

This document and the two next following are original presentations made at the visitation. They are undated, but are evidently of the year 1473, as they have been carefully preserved by being neatly folded and inserted between the stitching of the binding of a visitation book of that year. Linwood is a little village about two miles south-east of Market Rasen, which is memorable for having been the birth-place of William Lyndewode,* Bishop of Saint David's, the author of *The Provinciale*. Of Thyrston Fayreclough I have not been able to discover anything beyond what the following lines disclose.

Lynnewode.

It his to haue in mend þat Thyrston ffayreclogh has off þe kyrke godys xxvj^s viij^d and has hadd many yerys and þey chan newyr getyd howt off his handys, and god knowed they haue gret

* "Lego ecclesie de Lyndewode, ubi natus sum, antiphonarium meum, minorem de tribus."—Test. Will. Lyndewode, in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 418.

nede ther to, wat ffor renewyng off the bellis, and also ffor a chalys, ffor they haue but oon þat is but lityll worth and therffor at þe reuerens off gode lett hym be sumown, ffor with owt my lordys help they gete it neauer.

Ther es a nodyr in lynwod, his name is waren, but wat more I wot newyr, þat has diuers timys bet his ffadyr and his modyr, but as far fforth as I can thynke, he was newyr a solyd ther off, of them þat hadd powyr.

Worlabby is a small village about five miles north-east of Brigg.

Reuerent and worschypfull lorde with all our seruic als lawly as we can, to your worthy hynes we hus recommaund, doying your worschypfull lordship to haue knowlege þat þar is one annas þe vecar of þe sayde towne has haldyn to hys speciall this vj 3ere & more, and no correction done þerefore, wharfore we be seke yow of your gracios lordschip þat ze wyll wytsame (*sic*) to or (*sic*) þat þei may be correkyd.

The following is a curious account of a dispute as to certain money which ought to have been expended in masses for the soul of Herry Cawnt, but was wrongfully withheld, according to the statement of the petitioner. The family of Deane was settled for some generations at Barrowby, near Grantham. Early in the sixteenth century Thomazin, daughter and heiress of James Deane, of that place, married William Vernon, whose daughter and heiress, Joan, was the wife of Henry Saville of Lupset.* I am not able to show in what relation the Nicholas Deen here mentioned stood to James Deane. The Bluetts were in the succeeding century of Harlaxton, near Grantham. Their pedigree is entered in the Heralds' Visitation of 1562-4. It contains more than one person of the name of John. The person named Harrington was most probably a member of the family settled at Witham and Exton. Before the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, the chief magistrate at Grantham was called the Alderman—an imperfect list of these officials is given in Turner's *History of Grantham*,^b but the year 1473 is not represented therein:—

To my honorabul and wurschypful lorde off lyncoln.

Plesyth it to 3our good and gracyus lordschype to calle to 3our rememberens þat 3our pore beedman Nycolas Deen of Beroby complened to 3our lordschype at Grantham y^e day of 3our wysytacon apon John Blwet of Grantham merchaund and opon mayster willyam Banckys, for that they withhold wrongffully, as the alderman of Grantham, heryngton, and mayster John Bugge will testyfy, vjth vj^a for the wiche S. herry cawnt sangge fore, and dyd truly hys servyce as a preste owght to do. And þere apon he toke charge on his sowle, has he wold answeare afore god at the

* Peacock, *Eng. Ch. Furniture*, p. 40.

^b P. 46.

day of dome, the wich S. herry had no more mony to dispose for his sowle þe day of his dethe, but þe forseyd mony, and desyryd 3our seid beedman to receyfe þis forseyd mony and dispoße it for his sowle according to his Will, the wich I haue all whey bene redy to do yf I might a had it with owght sute or plee, and therfor for dyschargeyng of my conceyns I haue often thought to certyfie this matter to my lord 3our predecessor and dyd not, and so now I commytte this matter to god and 3our lordschype, and as 3our lordschyp rules it I hold me wel content. My lord for 3our Instruccyon this is the answere þat John Bluet and mayster willyam Banckys gyffys to me. Tru it is þat þe fader of þis seyð Bluet hyred the forseyd S. herry cawnt for x yerys euery yere to haue for his styppend vij merkes and charged his executors þat his prest schuld haue his terme performed, but they sey by cause þat old John Bluet commaundyð þat his preste schuld be keppe forth the x yere and seyð not S. herry is preste, they thinke it was at theyr lyberte to take wat preste þey lyke, and seyð to me mors soluit omnia. My lord in þat old Bluet had no oder preste but alonely S. herry Cawnt it muste nede be vnderstand þat his will was to performe hys bergayne þat he made with hym at þe begynnnyng. Also, my lorde, mayster willyam Banckys seyð to me yf I wold sue them in any cowrt þat longys now to 3our lordschype, he schuld remewe the ple and answer me yf I wold spend xl^{li} ther apon. I seyð to hym agayne, I had no good of S. herry cawntes to spende but alonely þat he and bluet withheld hym, I wold not spend my none good, no more then I haue don, and so comyt my matter to god; jugement. And so Bluet hase had a ponyshment sen þat tyme, and I dowte not but mayster banckys schall haue anoder or he dye withowghte þat this be performed.

1525.

The strange account here given shows how, before there were any signs of the Reformation being at hand, the coming revolution was prepared for by men's thoughts being diverted into theological channels. No change had outwardly taken place in the religion of England, and yet we find a poor thrasher attached to the Abbey of Sawtree having his soul troubled by visions, the purport of which, as he thought, was to explain the mystery of the holy eucharist. To most of us it will seem probable that the poor man's mind was disordered. He may have heard conversations in the abbey kitchen concerning the teachings of the German reformers such as set him thinking and overtasked his brain. From whatever cause these visions sprung their special form was undoubtedly shaped by what the poor man had seen on painted wall or in stained glass. The details as to colour are very curious. The Abbey of Saltrey, Sawtrey, or Sawtree was in Huntingdonshire. There is an account of it in the *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 521. The list of Abbots there given is so imperfect that we cannot discover therefrom who George Cartar served. At the time of the Dissolution William Angel was abbot; he had twelve monks and twenty-two servants under his charge.

George Cartar seruiens abbatis de Sawtre, thresher, juratus et examinatus, dixit, that in the hoste that is consecrate by the priede in masse & within the circle is the body of our lord in fleshe & bloode, and the circle that goith about without ys veraie white breade the thiknes off a small twyne threde, ffor he sayth that when a man or woman shalbe howseled the edge off the hoste may happen to hyt vpon a man's tothe and then iff the circle of breade were not ther to kepe in the bloode the blode wold peraventor fall down without his lippys, and this he saith and bileveth and will doo whils he lyveth, and iff that he be moved or induced to say that he bileved other wayes he wold peradventor say bifor M. chaunceler^a that he bileved other waies, but when M. chaunceler wer goon he saith he wold say to hym selff goo foole goo, and he saith that he wold bileve agayn as he dydd bifor and as is above rehersed. And he saith that vpon xv yeres agoo he was seek and then he dydd see the Alyment^b open the bread of ij brode berne doores and a place within that blue and grene which is called crownate, and ther he saw a tall man in the topp of the same weryng a violet Jaket, a tawny fustion dublet, his hose yalow tawny sylk, a pair of pynsons^c with a litle blak spott at the ankyll, and then he se a woman with a must de villers^d gown, a crymsyn hatt, white kyrchyvus, hyr gown tyed vp bihynd with a silk, blue & grene, drawe as a crosse knot, and he saith he was in the courte of right wisnes & ther he hard oon call for S. John Wed priest of blakeburne & dean ther, and then he apered and went vp a gree^e &

^a Nicholas Bradbridge, S.T.P., was Chancellor of Lincoln from 1512 to 1532.—Hardy's *Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglic.* vol. ii. p. 93.

^b The air, or perhaps rather the visible heavens.—See *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 31; *Twelfth Night*, act i. sc. 1; *Julius Caesar*, act i. sc. 3.

^c Shoes.—See *Catholicon Anglicum*, p. 281: "Payd to Henry Shomaker for a payre of pynson shoyse." "Acc. of Lestranges of Hunstanton" in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 511.

^d "Una toga de Musterdevyles cum capicio" occurs in an inventory of the middle of the fifteenth century, printed in W. D. Macray's *Notes from the Muniments of Magdalen College, Oxford*, p. 19. Mr. J. E. T. Rogers says that "This article is cloth, manufactured at Montivilliers, in mediæval Latin, Monasterium Villare, a town near Harfleur, in Normandy." The earliest date of the word he has met with is 1450.—*Hist. of Agriculture and Prices in Eng.* vol. iv. p. 566. Cf. Fowler, *Ripon Act Book*, p. 286.

^e A step, a flight of stairs.

"Grece, or tredyl, or steyr, gradus."—*Prompt. Parv.* vol. i. p. 209.

"The lady

Glydes down by the grece & gos to the king."

—*Early Eng. Allit. Poems*, E. E. Text Soc. p. 85.

"Mending of the grysts before the high altar, 4d."—*Ch. Acc. of Stoke Courcy in Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vol. vi. p. 349.

"Let me speak like yourself; and lay a sentence,

Which as a grise or step may help these lovers."—*Othello*, act i. sc. 3.

There is a flight of steps in the city of Lincoln called Greetstone, or Grecian stairs, which is a corruption of this word. The late Mr. Davies was of opinion that the name Grecian Steps, at York, had arisen from a similar confusion.—*Walks through York*, p. 204. A street at Scarborough goes by the name of Long Greece.—J. B. Baker, *Hist. Scarborough*, p. 394.

his gown was full of ashes, as he had been rolled in the ashes, and ther a blak fello met hym & put hym bihynde a walle & ther was many great skrykes and fro them cam down ashes [as] at a mylne, whithe & blak, and he told the same preste was deade when he was ten myle fro hym. Then he saith he rekouered a gayn and went to the churche to here masse & had with hym xiiij maydens & xx or xxx men, and at the sacryng tyme he dydd see in the hoste ouer the priestes heade a chylde naked in ffleshe & blode & his arnes abrode & hys fete streght down haldyng furth his harte, and all thoste was read as blode except thuttermost circle which was white as breade the thycknes off a small twyne threde, & he thonketh yt was white breade, and he saith when the prieste brak the hoste in the broken yt was colour of a lawmber^a beade & when the preste went to the lavatory he dydd see six grene dropes hangyng at the preste ij fore ffyngers whils the preste whiped them off with the towell, and that sight maketh hym beleve that in the hoste within the circle is the body of our lord Jhu criste, and the litle white circle goyng about the hoste is white breade, & hol[deth] in the blode, and this he saith he will bileve whils he d[oeth] lyve & noon other wise for noo man.

An then M. chaunciler moved him other wise to bileve that the oste ther & euery parte off yt is the veraic body off our lord god ffleshe & bloode, but the said George said he would byde by that he had said, and that almyghty god shued him so, & he is his master. And he saith he had leve gyven hym off god by a voice to shue this openly, so he said that men wold not bileve hym except he had a token, and the voice bad him say pat by this token that Dominus is the bloode of criste.

1526.

Tillbrook is a village in Buckinghamshire, near Kimbolton. The evidence here given as to small tithes is curious, as showing the strictness with which the Church's rights, even in very minute matters, were guarded. It is interesting also as being an early instance of evidence recorded in English.

William Byworth de Tilbroke etatis lxx annorum colonus, libre conditionis vt asserit, vbi xlvij annos testis, productus, narratus & examinatus.

Dicit that he hath hard olde Robert Colson, hopkin henson & old william holcott saye that ther was a certain ground callid prest holm, the which was of old tyme gyven by a certain prest then dwelling in tylbroke to the parson of the church ther in recompence of tithe fruits, apples, herbes, hemp & flax dyggid with spade in gardyns with in the town, & after hym S. Thomas holm, & after hym doctor berd, & after hym doctor Wyatt & now S. Robert Gamell. But he saith he cannot tell whether the parishonars did euer paye tythe apples or noo. he neuer knew noon payde, nor he neuer paid tithe apples, and he hath had apples growing this x yeres. And als, he

^a Amber. "x bedes of lambr'."—Inv. of Guild of B.V. Mary of Boston, 1534, in Peacock's *Eng. Ch. Furniture*, p. 95. "1 paire of beedes of laumber."—Louth Ch. Inventory, 1486. Lammer beads are still spoken of in Northumberland.—J. F. Fowler, *Ripon Act Book*, p. 286 n.

saith it is a common voice of the contree & town ther, & hath been of long tyme, that the said preste holme was gyven to recompence the tythe of apples, ffruites & herbes as is above said & in like case is the custom at Kymbalton & the prior of Stoneley ^a hath also called the parson close for lyke tythes.

Johannes Byworth de Tilbroke' vbi fuit oriundus & mansit ibidem pro xxx annos, colonus libere condicionis, etatis xl annorum, testis, productus, narratus et examinatus, saith that by yond xxx yeres past he hard his wyffes moder saye that preste holm was gyven to the parsonage of Tilbroke for tythe of such thinges as were diggid with spade within gardyns of the town, and interrogate whether he knew ever enny apples gyvyn for tyth he saith that he neuer knew no such tithes askyd but bi doctor Wyatt, which neuer had them, but he saith ther was on kyng, ffermer of the parsonage, bicause he was an honest man and kynde to his neighbors and therfor this deponent & his wiff with ther neighbors did gyve hym apples dyuerse tymys, but as no tythe apples, saving that his wiffe the fyrst yere she cam to town delyueryd to Kinges wiff tithe apples & so told her husband & then this deponent said whi did you so? You shold pay noon for he hath a holm for all manner of curtlage tithis diggid with spade & that he herd his wiffes moder saye that the preste that gave the holm dwellyd in the howse wher this deponent dwellith.

1527.

This is a highly curious picture of a popular delusion of very early date, which has come down to the present time. Persons who seek by enchantments for hidden treasure are, I have understood, common to this day not only in the East but also in many parts of Germany, and almost within my own memory a small farmer who lived at Laughton, near Gainsborough, was cheated out of nearly the whole of his substance by a wanderer, who professed to be able to point out to him where a large sum of money was hidden in a sand-hill. The hill in which these simple persons went to search for money was probably a barrow. If it was a place of heathen burial the fact that it was believed to be haunted by "a man sprite and a woman sprite" is of easy explanation. Perhaps it was on account of the evil reputation of the place that a cross had been erected thereon to hallow it. There seems to have been a notion abroad in the earlier part of the sixteenth century that treasure was to be found by digging in the vicinity of crosses, for in one of the railing accusations of John Bale cross-diggers are mentioned in very evil company.^b Humberstone is a village about four miles from Leicester. Cumbleton I have not been able to identify.

^a Stoneley Priory was in the parish of Kimbolton. It was a house of Augustinian Canons.—*Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 476.

^b The passage is perhaps worth copying as being a pretty complete catalogue of such persons as dealt with curious arts at the time of the Reformation.—"It serveth all witches in their witchery, all sorcerers,

Johannes Trawlove de humberston etatis xxix annorum juratus, saith that oon . . . percivall, some tyme of Kettering, tailour, now dwelling at Cumbleton, he knaweth no moer off his name nor yet where he dwellyth, did show to this deponent in woodford in Northampton shire that John Curson of Kettering dyd show hym that ther was iij thousand poundes of gold and syluer in a bank besides the crosse nygh hand to Kettering, and that it is in ij pottes within the ground; and this deponent saith that the said John Curson dyd show to hym that ther is iij thousandes poundes off gold and syluer besides the said crosse; and the said Curson dyd apoint this deponent and oper withen written to mete hym at the said crosse, and when they came ther, the said Curson dydd say bifour them all, here standes the on pott within the ground and here standes the oper. And he said to this deponent or they come ther that he hadd spendyd his good about thing, and that it cost him xxⁱⁱ nobles; and that he dyd speke with a lerned man for the knawledge of the trueth. And also the said John Curson did not name with what clarke he had ben with all. He said also that he and ij men with hym whiche he dydd not name hadd been ther at the same crosse bifour to haue digged ther, and when they hadd putt in a wymble they hard such a lumbring within the ground that they dyst nott tarry with hym. And said that a man sprite and a woman sprite dyd kepe the said ij pottes. And this deponent saith that he and Curson did first comon of this matter at hari'burgh,^a and ther Curson shewed hym that ther was iij thowsand poundes in ij pottes beside the said cross. And this deponent saith, by the virtue of his Othe, that he neuer dyd counsell with bern man to knaw of enny mony ther, nor in non oper place, and that he never was present at the dyggyng of enny crosse, nor yet in enny oper place in that bihalff, but al only at Kettering at saint Nicholaus day at night last passed, then beyng present with hym the said John Curson, the whiche dyd cause them all to goo about the dyggyng of the said hyll beside the crosse aforesaid, William Godely of Humberston, John Russell of Kettering, shomaker, . . . Sped of Kettering, John Amore of Arthingburgh, John Spicer off Weldon, peddeler, and this deponent; and the said John Curson hadd his boo and brawght with hym ij pickaxes and a spade and a spytt for to dygg the said ground. And this deponent saith that they hadd noo money ther. He saith that it hath ben dygged saynnys,^b but he can not tell whoe dydd dygg it. And saith that he neuer dyd shoe to Curson that he wold goo to enny cunying man for pat matter, but Curson shoed hym that he hadd been at a Cunnyng man for that matter, and that it had cost hym xxⁱⁱ nobles. And this deponent saith that he and Goodly came to gidder that day to Kettering market to by corn, and nott to dygg ther that day.

Willelmus Godely de Humberston, colonus etatis xxxiiij annorum, iuratus et examinatus, saith that he went to Kettering market of saint Nicholaus day to by corn, last past, and hadd noo knowledge then off enny digging to be made ther, and when this deponent com ther John dyd shewe hym that he and ij or iij of kettering moo wold goo dygg in a hyll beside a crosse nighe kettering, and that ther dydd lye iij thowsand pownd of gold and syiuer. And this deponent dyd

charmners, enchanters, dreamers, soothsayers, necromancers, conjurors, cross-diggers, devil raisers, miracle-doers, dog-leeches, and bawds; for without a mass they cannot well work their feats."—*The Latter Examination of Mistress Anne Askewe*, Parker Soc. Reprint, p. 236.

^a Perhaps Market Harborough in Leicestershire.

^b Query, since.

aske Trauclowe howe he knew it, and Trauclowe said that the forsaid Curson did shewe him soo, and hath spendyd much mony for the knowlege therof; and then this deponent went with them, and beside the crosse, nighe xxⁱⁱ fote from the crosse, the said John Curson said her is ij pottes, oon of gold and a noþer of silver, and sett down his fote, her is the on pott, and sett down the oþer fote, her is the oþer potte, and it is nott iij quarters of a yerd depe to the said pottes, then being present this deponent and the said Curson with his boo, John a more of Arthlingburgh, and he saith that John Russell and Robert Spede was a cowncell with them and come furth with them but the[y] taried not with them, and when they war dygging come cumpany and they went peir way. And this deponent saith by the virtue of his othe that he was neuer dygging of cross, nor off counsaill of diggyng for noo money but onely this oon tyme.

1528.

The following is the evidence taken in the parish church of Liddington, in Rutlandshire, concerning an alleged contract of marriage between Richard Bate and Alice White. In 1528 the canon law was in force in England in all things pertaining to wedlock and espousals, though very little seems to be known as to the proceedings in such cases. Hardly any documents relating to the subjects, if indeed such exist, have been brought before the notice of students. Our Fellow, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, in his *Acts of Chapter of the Collegiate Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, has published some highly curious documents relating to contracts of marriage.^a These are, as far as I aware, the only papers which at present exist in a printed form which directly refer to this interesting subject.

On Wednesday in Easter weke he [Richard Bate] and she [Alicia White] went to hir ffathers, and her ffather dyd aske hym, ar you content to mak a bargayn off mariage with my doughter Alice? and he said ye, and so he and Alice com home to gidder, and he saith, when he and she come home to gidder his moþer wold nott suffre them to come into hir hows, and then Richard said to his moþer in the presence of Alice, I will haue hyr to my wiff, and iff we cannot come into the hows to gidder we wyll worke to gydder on the day light, and he saieth that he desired his moþer to be good vnto me for I wyll haue hyr to my wiff. And at his desier his moþer went to the churche and desired the parson to aske them in churche on the Sonday after, and ageyn on the Sonday after that, and this he saieth in the presence off Alice. She saith that this is truthe, and that she was euery tyme contented to haue hym to hyr husband, and by hir consent was asked in the churche. And the said Richard fatetur quod post bannas editas cognovit eam carnaliter sex vicibus ad minus.

Interrogatus de altera muliere margareta Treman, dicit that he com ffyrst to hyr abowt the

^a Pp. 38, 159, &c.

twelfte day, and after that he dydd send hyr a pair of gloves and a sylken lace for tokens in that entent to mary with hym, and upon palmesonday last he come to Sayton^a hym selff to her M. hows, and ther he asked hyr iff she myght fynd in hir hart to love hym bifour all oper, and she sayd that she myght fynd in hyr hart to love hym bifour all oper, if he might get hyr Emmys^b good will, and they then poynted that he might come to Sayton on the tuesday in Easterweke that they myght goo to gidder to hir vncle to haue his mynd, but he saith he come not that day bicause that Alice said she was with child with hym, and that she wold deuoure hyr selff^c except she hadd hym to hyr husbond, and off the wednesday after he went to hir ffaythers and as he hath said befor.

An order was issued that Richard Bate should make no contract with Margaret Treman or any other woman until the matter with Alice White was adjudicated upon.

We have here a curious picture of the early Protestant worship of Germany as it appeared to a man who we may be sure was, before he visited Amsterdam and Bremen, utterly ignorant of the ways of theological controversy. What he saw there must have filled him with wonder. We have also an example of the strictness of ecclesiastical discipline where the shadow of a suspicion of heresy was concerned on the very eve of the Reformation. I have not succeeded in identifying Henry Burnett or any of his companions. Barrow is a village on the Humber nearly opposite Hull.

Henricus burnett de Barow in comitatu lincoln &c iuratus ad sancta dei euangelia ac deinde examinatus, dixit that about Candelmasse last past, he & five of hull, Robert Clarke, Roger Danyell, Nicholas Bayly & one William . . . apprentice with M. Mycolow of hull, and Robert Robynson of hull, did passe over the see in a duche shippe, fraughted with merchaundise of hull & launded in holand in a Town called hamsterdam & ther thei were a vj or vij wekes & then toke a shipp & went to Brem' & ther thei frauctyd a shippe with wheat & thei taryed at Brem' v wekes and there the people did folowe luters warkes and no masses were said ther, but on the Sondaye the priest would reuest hym self and goo to the aulter and procedid till nygh the sacryng tym and then the prest and all that were in the church, olde and yonge, wolde syng after their mother Tong and ther was noo sakryng. Thei were at Breme from Easter tyll the weke afore whitsondaie, and there was noon of them howselyd nor cowlde not be howselyd, but thei wold have

^a Seaton, in Rutlandshire, near Uppingham.

^b Uncle—

“ Whilst they were young, Cassibalane their eme,
Was by the people chosen in their sted.”

—Spencer, *Faerie Queen*, book ii. canto x. st. xlvii.

^c “ Self ” is here written over the word child, which has been erased.

been howselyd if thei cowld by eny meanes. And they were in dyuerse places of ffice lande and thurgh all the contraye was there no masse, but after luters opynyons was the people ordered, and thei had euery Sondaye Sermondes & Preachinges, but this respondent nor noon of his company did vnderstand them, and in the whitsonwyke they cam to hull and ther he left his company & cam to Barow, and within iiij dayes after he asked of the vicar of Barow his curat to be confessid & howselyd & the vicar would nether confesse hym nether howsyll him without the consent of his ordinary. Then he was sent to M. doctor Pryn^a by the comandement of the vicar of Barow, & M. doctor Pryn sent him to Mr. Chauncellor.^b Interrogatus whether he or eny of his company went into that countrey to lerne luters warkes or opynyons or noo. He saith naye, and thei were not nygh luter not by l dutche mylys. He saith he vnderstondeth noo latyn, but he can Rede Englyshe. He had never booke of luters opynyons, but he saith Roger Danyell had the gospelles in Englyshe, which the dean of Yorke hath. He saith that he & his company in the fische dayes when they were be yonde the see thei did ete fflesche, and he himself did ete fflesche ij days after he came to Barow & never sence, and he beleueth in goddes lawis as a good Xpen man shold do. He was ij tymys at lincoln to have spokyn with M. doctor pryn for to be howselyd & he went home without any word for M. doctor pryn was not at lincoln.

* * * * *

Injunixit sibi sub pena excommunicationis maioris That he shall never teche nor show to eny folkes such erronyous opynyons and dampnable abusions as he hath hard and seen in ffice land and the countries ther about.

The following monastic lists are not of much general interest, but they furnish information which it is almost certain cannot be found elsewhere :

GRACEDIE[U, Belton, Leicestershire].

Domina Agnes litherland, priorissa.^c
 Domina Anna greysley, sub priorissa.
 Domina Katerina Cheselden.
 Domina Anna Cosstly.
 Domina Elisabeth hawll.
 Domina margareta knottisford.
 Domina Anna geylott.
 Domina dorothea Inglshe.
 Domina margareta podrell.
 Domina Anna Asheby.
 Domina Emma Michell.

^a John Pryn, LL.D., Prebendary of Lincoln 1528 ; Treasurer 1532 ; Subdean 1535 ; died 1558 ; buried in Lincoln Cathedral.—Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Anglic.* ed. Hardy, vol. ii. pp. 40, 90, 158.

^b Nicholas Bradbridge, *vide ante*.

^c The last prioress. She surrendered the houses 7 Oct. 1539.—*Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 567.

Domina Elisabeth presbery.
Domina Johanna Barwell.
Domina Elisabeth Bagott.
Dicte priorissa et sorores habent ecclesiam parochialem de Belton.

[OU]STON.^a

Dominus Johannes Slawston, abbas.
Dominus Robertus buckmynster, subprior.
Dominus Johannes Weston.
Dominus Thomas leicester, sacerdos.
Dominus Robertus vppingham, precentor.
Dominus Willelmus Weston
Dominus Willelmus Tilien, sub sacrista.
Dominus Johannes langam, nouicius.
Dominus Robertus Burton, nouicius.
Nicholas Okeham, nouicius.
Ipse abbas et conventus habent ecclesias parochiales de Ostweston,
Est Norton & Slaweston.
Dominus Abbas muleires accedunt ad monasterium.
Subprior non habent presbuteros nisi quatuor ad omnes missas
celebrandas in dicto monasterio.

LAUNDE prioratus.^b

Dominus Johannes lancaster, prior.
Dominus Willelmus Stokkeston, subprior.
Dominus Willelmus platelyng.
Dominus Johannes lodington, celerar.
Dominus Thomas medeborn, sacrista.
Dominus Thomas ffrysby, Refectorarius.
Dominus Willelmus howghton, precentor infirmus.^c
Dominus Willelmus alderwas, subcellerar.
Dominus Willelmus leceter, petitionarius.
Dominus Robertus Northampton, subcentor.
ffrater hugo halstede, nouicius.
ffrater Robertus lydington, nouicius.
ffrater Thomas Berow, nouicius.
ffrater Johannes haloughton, nouicius.

^a An Augustinian Canonry, near Melton Mowbray.—*Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 422.

^b *Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 187.

^c The word "infirmus" is entered in the margin.

LEICESTER monasterium.^a

Dominus Richardus pexsall, abbas.

Dominus hugo whitwik, prior.

Dominus Richardus Bromeley, subprior.

Dominus Thomas Broughton.

Dominus Willelmus Bottisforth.

Dominus Robertus Sapcott.

Dominus Johannes leicester.

Dominus Thomas Bathe

Dominus Thomas hampton.

Dominus Robertus byrmyngham.

Dominus Johannes Nottingham.

Dominus Richardus lichfeld.

Dominus Thomas Dey.

Dominus Johannes Bosworth.

Dominus Thomas whitwyk.

Dominus Johannes Jeston.

Dominus Johannes greysley.

Dominus Johannes Buxum.

Dominus Thomas dethyk.

ffrater nicholaus hartington.

ffrater gregorius barkby.

ffrater hugo Aston.

ffrater Richardus norton.

ffrater Willelmus bramley.

ffrater Robertus welby.

Abbas et conventus habent ecclesias parochiales subscriptas viz.

Barkby, Barow, hungarton, humberston, Evington, Billesdon, Enderby
cum Wheston, quenyborowe, Brackley, Chesham, leicester, cockerham,
lylleborn, sancti martini leicester.Abbas dixit quod dominus Thomas Whytwyk magister nouiciorum non est
diligens nec indifferens in instructione nouiciorum, aliquos diligenter
instruit et aliquos alios minime curat instruere.

1529.

Alleged contract of marriage between Richard Ingram, of Eston, and
Elizabeth Roys, of Belton. The decision was in favour of the marriage.^b

^a *Mon. Ang.* vol. vi. p. 462.^b Contracts of marriage such as this were considered binding in conscience until the passing of the

Richardus Dowke de Eston dicit that after all halow masse last past he was by when the said Richard & Elizabeth did comen of matrimony and this deponent did bed them take handes & so they did, then he said Isabell (*sic*) maist thou fynde in thei hart for to forsake all other & to lede thy lyff with this yong man Richard Ingram & for to gyve hym thy faithe and thy trouthe; Then plyte thowe hym thy trougt. And the said Isabell said I plight you my trouth. Interrogatus quo in loco. He saith it was doon in Horningwolde in domo Johis Calverley.

Johannes Ingram he saith he was by when Richard Ingram did aske of Isabell Roys if she cowlde fynd in her hart to love hym afor all other & therto to plytt hym her trouth, & she said yea & therto she plytt hym her trouth. This was doon at hornynwold the Twesday before Martinmasse daye, then being present the parties above named, Richardus dawke & this deponent.

The following is an instance of a brawl between a priest and a layman who were evidently drinking together, probably at a church ale or in a public house. Any one who struck a priest except in self defence incurred excommunication.*

Thomas Awdeley de howghton conquest . . . dicit erat contentio inter eum & dominum Richardum Graunt capelanum & Richardus vocavit eum ffalse harlott^b & iste Thomas

Marriage Act of 26 George II. c. 33. In Aphra Behn's play *The Town Fop*, published in 1677, Bellmour says:—

“If you must yet delay me,
Give me leave not to interest such wealth without security,
And I, Celinda, will instruct you how to satisfy my tears.
Bear witness to my vows— [Kneels and takes her by the hand.
May every plague that Heaven inflicts on sin
Fall down in thunder on my head
If e'er I marry any but Celinda,
Or if I do not marry thee, fair maid.”

Celinda answers—

“And here I wish as solemnly the same:
May ill arive to me,
If e'er I marry any man but Bellmour.”

The lady's brother and nurse were present. The latter adds—

“We are witnesses good as a thousand.”—Act ii. sc. i.

The whole plot of the play turns on the fact that this was a valid marriage.

* See the sentence in Myre's *Instruc. for parish priest*.—E. E. Text Soc. p. 23.

^b Harlott was formerly applied to both sexes.

“A sturdy harlot went hem ay behind
That was hir hostes man, and bare a sakke,
And what men yave hem, laid it on his bakke.”

—Chaucer, *Sumpnours Tale*, l. 7336.

Awdeley dixit eidem, ye haue been my gostly,^a & ye know wether I be a falsse harlott or no & I be so declare me & idem dominus Richardus dixit, Thow art a ffalse harlott. Tunc dixit iste Thomas, Call me so no more for yf ye do I shall ley the on the face with this pott, & immediate dictus dominus Richardus dixit Mary thou art a ffalse harlott in thy saying. Tunc predictus Thomas recepit ollam & wolde haue smytten the preste & the ffermer then being present did beare of the stroke with his arme & the ale was spylt on the prestes face and on his clothes.

An account of a person who went to visit a conjuror or wise man for the recovery of stolen goods. For consulting this impostor John Welford was sentenced to offer one pound of wax before the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church at Lidington, on Sunday morning, after the second bell.

Johannes Welford de howghton magna juratus

In primis interrogatus super primo articulo; fatetur that he went to Cisciter to on that reported hym self to be a doctor dwelling at Sates,^b whose name he knawith not, to knawe who hadd stollen vij^{li} from hym, for yt was shoid hym that that man coud tell of stowle gudes. He saith that the said doctor did byd him go home ageyn, saying that he shuld here of his money ageyn, but this deponent dyd not beleve hym. The doctor bad hym if he coud not fynd his gude ageyn to send hym a byll and he wold loke for yt, but this deponent wold go no more to hym, and this he reported to his neighbours. He saith also that he desired Richard Godfrey to go furth to on to ask for the same money, whey and to whome he went this deponent cannot tell.

Ad secundam. He saith he hard at Northampton of dyuerse, that that man coud tell of stollen guddes. He had no counsell nor his costes of no body.

Ad tertiam. He saith he went but oons, and to non oper but to hym before named, and he saith he gave hym no thing for his labour, but he promised the doctor that if he coud tell hym of his guddes he wold please hym.

Ad quartam. He saith that Ric . . . was suspected and arested before he went furth, but noon after.

1538.

Two women accused of using charms for the cure of diseases. The earlier is noteworthy, though the text is corrupt. This charm is written as prose, but is certainly a rude kind of verse. It has been truly said by a now forgotten author that "there has always been a tendency in the human mind to believe with as little expense of the reasoning faculty as possible."^c The want of apparent connection between words and visible objects has never been held to be a reason

^a The word "father" seems to have been omitted here.

^b I cannot identify this place.

^c E. Landon, in *Life*, by Layman Blanchard, vol. ii. p. 99.

why mere words should not have preternatural effects on things living and dead. Here, notwithstanding its orthodox ending, the charm has come down to us from a period earlier than that of the introduction of Christianity. It unmistakably points to the heathen frame of mind, when the gods were charm-smiths.^a The Church was unequal to the task of extirpating these old-world dreams, but she had power sufficient to have some influence on their forms. The voice is the voice of the worshippers of Odin and Thor, but the vesture is trimmed with patches plucked from the Church's creeds and prayers.^b

✓ In ecclesia de owndell xxiiij^{tho} septembris anno domini predicto.

Quibus die et loco comparuit Agnes Robson vxor Thome Robson de owndell detecta & confessa est pro sanavit, deo mediante, parvos porcos & alia animalia hoc sortiligio. God almyghty, god and sainte charyte. I beseche you of your blessyd goodnes to helpe this same thing saying thus. John is thy xpen name. John and thre, bytter bytter hathe the bytten, Thre bytter, bytter hathe the nyppen, and thre bytter bytter hathe the stryken, besechyng almyghty god whedder itt were eye or tong or hert the better shall be your heale and boote, the father the son and the holy gooste.

Ac Johanna connyngton vxor petri connyngton de eadem confessa est pro conjuravit pueros infirmos sub hac forma. . . . In the worships of the father the sone and the holy goste and god and the trynytie, send this child helth and boote and it be Xpistes will, for senct charyte Three byttes haue ye bytten with hert and tong and eye. ✓

The following presentment of the churchwardens and others of the parish of All Saints, Northampton, is undated; it probably belongs to about this period.

Omnium Sanctorum ville Northampton

William negosse	} gardiani
Thomas yetes	
John Colson	
John grattewood	
Henry Like	

^a Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I. xxviii.

^b Bishop Hooper, in his *Declaration of the Ten Commandments* (1548), tells his readers that among christian folk there are people "that by the abuse of God's name, through the help of the devil," cure men of sickness, and that "not many years sith I was borne in hand of a poor man that erred by ignorance that this medicine could heal all diseases, + Jesus + Job + habuit + vermes + Job + patitur + vermes + in + nomine + Patris + et + Filii + et + Spiritus Sancti + Amen + lama zabacethani +."—*Early Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 328.

Rogier yerland
 Thomas bayes
 Raffe watson
 Henry ffannoke

They wyche doo present seying that ther ys a comyn ffame in the parishe off all santtes that oone Dane John goodwyn prior off our lady off grace & Dane Stevyn wylson frere off the blake ffreres In the horsse markett of Northampton dyd Raille azenst the blessyd sacrament off the aulter saying that the blessyd sacrament off the aulter was not the blessyd bcdy off chryst, nor the blessyd body of chryste was not conteyned in the blessyd sacrament off [the] aulter, thes men being present & in the companie off them in the halle of the syne of the bell S Thomas ladbroke, curat of bryngton, Richard moterton, the goodman off the howse John barton, William Parker, bucher.

Item they doo present that the afforesaid dane stevyn wylson off the blake ffreres showlde see in the presens off John clyfford, sherman^a with other mo that matens & messe was but a babbelyng.

Item they present seying that oone Richard greyne the bucher shoulde make his report that he dyd comytte adhultery with elezabet branefford wedow.

Item they do present that the wyffe of edward myelles showlde sklander hyr owne husband seying that hyr husband showld comytt adhultery with Jone . . . servant vnto peter Jeffere.

Item they present that ther chanssele wyndow ys brokyn in so muche they cannot kepe a candell lyght in the masse tyme.

Thomas yngerom, Hugo bowker, two of the towne sargenttes of Northampton, doo present vn to your lordshippe that oon wylliam beckwith, Sheppard vnto Mr. presetes of northampton, Mr. meyres, clerke of the towne of Northampton, dyd take & ffynde oon dayne Stevyn wylson off the blake ffreres in the horsse market off northampton, that dyd commytte advowtery with oon nawghte pake,^b sometye servant vnto branefford of northampton aforesaid vpon the blessyd yester evyn in þe evynsongtyme, and whe the seid Thomas yengerom & hugo bowkar dyd brynge the afforeseid nawghte pake beffor the bayles off northampton that wher at that tyme & ther she dyd confesse that the aforesaid Dane Stevyn wyllson did commytt advowttery wythe hyr in the daye

^a "Shearman, one who shears worsteds, fustians," &c.—M. A. Lower, *Eng. Surnames*, 4th edition, vol. i. p. 114.

"Villain, thy father was a plasterer;
 And thou thyself a shearman, art thou not?"

—*Henry VI. Part II. act iv. sc. ii.*

^b Naughty pack seems to have been a common designation of a harlot. In Richard Bernard's *Terence in English*, 5th ed. 1629, we read "Let us now preuent this whilst time is . . . before that his naughty packs shrewd crafts and fained teares do worke againe his loue-sicke minde vnto pittie and compassion," p. 50. The word was sometimes used to designate an evil living person of the male sex.

& place above wrytten. In venella vocata walbekke iuxta viam publicam inter northampton & kynges thorpe in vigilia pasche.

* * * *

Richardus morton ville northampton etatis quinquaginta annorum et vltra testis, iuratus et examinatus dicit that he harde dane John godwyn saye that he was ones a frear and nowe att libertie, and wolde speak att libertie sainge we haue flatered a greatte whyll, and all for money. We haue saide for gayne of money that a trentall wolde save a man or woman their soule, and that a masse of scala celi^a wolde save a soule from hell, and all for money. And he asked of those thenne presente, howe many of you haue [seen] almighty god, and this deponent said I saw him this daye betwene the priestes handes, & he saide frior sainge naye Itt is nott the body of god butt a symylitude that if itt were not for the displeasur of their prynce he shuld nott haue goon oute of the house on live, and saith that sir Stephen did iustefye, ratefye, and fortifye all the premysses by the said soo spoken. . . .

Willelmus parker ville northampton etatis xxx^{ta} annorum et vltra testis iuratus dicit that he hard S. Stephen wilson saye in the house of Richard morton that he wold sell xij. dosen of matens for thre farthinges, and asked S. Thomas lodbrok this question: You ar well att ease, you knowe where to haue your waare, and saide who was he that euer sawe the sacramento. And the saide Richard morton saide that he didd see itt that daye betwene the priestes handes, the said S. Stephen sainge naye, itt was butt a symylitude. Straungiours ther being present and hearinge these premysses saide that they wolde haue thruste their dagger into hym, if itt hadde not bene for their princes displeasour. . . .

Johannes barton de eadem villa, etatis lx^{ta} annorum et vltra, testis iuratus dicit that the said frior askede of those thenne beinge present, Masters which of you didd euer see Christe, and M. morton saide I trust I haue sene hym this daye betwene the pristes handes, and the saide frior said itt was butt a symylitude, and not the body of god. And William Walton, seruante to a knyght of Seinct Johns, a gest, beinge presente, saide in his chaumbre afterwarde, it had bene a good dede to haue thruste his dagger into hym. And saith moreouer that oon beinge presente askede of the said frior howe haue you thenne lyved all this whyle? He answered, we haue

^a A mass of Scala Coeli we believe to have been one said at an altar which had received privileges like unto those of the Chapel of Scala Coeli in Rome.

"In þat place a chappelle ys
Scala cely called hit ys
Laddere of heuen men clepeþ hit
In honour of our lady be my wytte
.
.
Who-so syngēþ masse yn þat chappelle
For any frend, he loseþ hym fro helle
He may hym brynge phorow purgatory y-wys
In to þe blys of paradys."

—*Political Relig. and Love Poems* (E. E. T. S.) pp. 118, 119.

made you foolcs. And this deponent asked Sir Stephen why he was nott att home in his house att matens, and he answerede he wolde sell xv^d of matens for thre farthings, for he coude be better occupyde, and thother frear affyrmed al thinge spoken by the said Sir John godwin.

* * * * *

Johannes grobbe de Carby xxx^{ta} annorum libere condicione testis & dicit, that vpon Ash-wednesday last passed, Richard patryke of Carby goyng frome Carby towards daventrie, told this deponent and his nighbours of dyuerse newes, and of preachinges and emonges other conuercation said that Christe never shedde his blodde and than Richard lee said vnto the said Richard patryke, yes I beleve that Christ shede his blodde, or the bookes be false elles, for longius^a (*sic*) toke his long spere and pryked hym to the herte and ther ronned out water and blode and ronned vpon the handes of the said longious (*sic*) wherewith he rubbed his eyes and rekeuered his sight. And the said Richard patryke said noo to hym. Than this deponent said he maruailed that the said Richard patryke spake suche wordes and asked hym what he said by the blood of hayles,^b is not that of christes blode? And Richard patryke called hym fole, saing he pratted he knew not what, for the bloode of hales was but a duckes blode, and that William belche, Saunder grobbe, thomas burton, Richard lee & Robert Southern were present and herd the same words.

* * * * *

Robertus Southorn de eadem audiuit Richardum patricke dicentem that christe neuer shedde bloode for man, and that the bloode of hayles was but a duckes bloode, and that he was looded and hadde a wake capel^c an herd noo moo of his wordes.

1602.

An answer to a complaint which seems to have charged a clergyman with neglect of duty. The complaint is not forthcoming.

^a Longinus,¹ Longius or Longias is the name given in mediaeval mythology to the soldier who pierced our Lord's side. The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacob a Voragine says that "Longinus fuit quidam centurio, qui cum aliis militibus cruci domini adstans jussu Pylati latus domini lancea perforavit et videns signa, quae fiebant, solem scilicet obscuratum et terrae motum in Christum credidit. Maxime ex eo, ut quidam dicunt, quod cum ex infirmitate vel senectute oculi ejus caligassent, de sanguine Christi per lanceam decurrente fortuito oculos suos tetigit et protinus clare vidit."—Cap. xlvii. ed. Tho. Graesse, 1850, p. 202. The name has almost certainly been derived from λόγχη, a lance. There are many references to this story in Prof. Skeats's "Notes to Piers the Plowman" (E. E. T. S.), p. 403. See Prof. George Stephens's *Prof. S. Bugge's Studies in Northern Mythology Shortly examined*, p. 38, for the relation of the story of Longinus to the Baldor myth.

^b Hales Abbey, Gloucestershire, was a place of great resort for pilgrims on account of this reputed relic of the holy blood which was given to that church by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in 1272.—*Mon. Ang.* vol. v. p. 686.

^c A horse—

"He also hath to don more than ynough
To kepe him on his capel out of the slough."

—Chaucer, *Manciple's* Prologue, l. 17013.

Responsa personaliter Marci Somerscales clerici ad articulos He served the cure of Gosberton from the xij of June last, duringe the space of 15 or 16 weekes next following, having no licence but onlie by word of mouth from Mr. Randes & did diuers times preach there, not licenced during the time aforesaid, and once at Surfleete bicause the minister there was drunken & had ben beate & kept his bed. Et vltorius dicit that he did administer the communion in the said parish church of Gosberton about Lammas last, and wanteing wine at the latter end of the communion he mingled water with wine & did deliuer the same to the communicantes, for that otherwise he should haue sent away some of the communicantes without wine. Et alia negat.

The following is an examination of a person who was, or professed to be, a deacon in the English Church, who afterwards became a Roman Catholic, and then returned to the Church of England:—

Examinat dicit that he was made deacon by Bishop Bull[ingham]. But cannot shewe his letters of orders ffor that they were one Thomas Cley, his house at Tetney in the countie where they were lost & made away after this examinat serve Sir Robert Trwhitte of Kettleby, where in the time put Mr. William Trw[hitte] he became a recusante, aboute some xviii yeare agoe, & therefore ma[de] no accompte of his letters of orders: to the which recusancie he was brought by one Mr. Gellibrand, an old Preist, who diuers times said masse at the said Mr. William Tirwhittes houses at Kettleby and Twigmore, at the which this examinat was manie times presente, & he continued his recusancie by the space of xv yeares, being indicted therefore & found gilty answered the penaltie of the lawe so far as his goodes would extend, which were seized vpon & caried away by Nicholas Sanderson of ffillingham, in the countie of Lincoln, Esquier, & then Sheriffe of the same countie, & he was converted by Mr. Marmaduke Tirwhitte, of Scotter, in the countie of Lincoln, Esquier, & by Mr. Daubney, parson of Scotter aforesaid, and Mr. Turswell, parson of Waddingham Marie, & submitted himself before the Justices of Assize at Lincoln, & so was freed from the danger of the lawe & sett at libertie. Afterwardes he, this examinat, viz. anno 1599, taught a singing school at Kirton in Holland, by the space of a yeare and d, & after that taught a singing school at fframpton one yeare when he fell sick, & was sick for the spac of a yere, & afterwardes he wente to one Thomas Disneys howse, of Carleton in moreland, in the countie of Lincoln, Esquier, where he taught his children & 2 of his bretheren to sing in his oune howse by the spac of d a yere, & after that he taught children to sing at Ruskington in the church ther d a yeare, & from thence he came to by Mr. Williams, Curate at Asgarby, at Martinmas laste, beinge admitted therevnto by Mr. Randes, but knoweth no certaintie of his stipend savinge that he hath meat & drink with Mistress Williams at Asgarby, which benefice he kepeth in his oune handes, & he him self hath his dyett at Mr. Roberte Carre, Esquier, his house at Asgarby, & lodgeth at the parsonage howse ther, wher he keepeth a man, a maid & a boy, for the inning of his tithes & other profittes, which also [he] keepeth in his own hands, and saith further that when Mr. Williams cometh to Asgarby to preach there or administer the communion, then he, this examinat goeth to Aswarby and scrveth there. And saith further that since he took orders he became the Quenes majesties bayliff of & in the wapentak of Manley, in the

Archdeaconrie of Stow, for the space of 4 or 5 yeare, & served at the Assizes and quarter sessions & summoned Juries, & being preferred to that office by Mr. William Tirwhitt, his maister, which office he left of himself & so lived as a private man on a farm, which he had at Twigmore 2 or 3 years, & then was converted as before. And saith that he onelie was at ffulbeck to seek servie there, where he stayed but one day, and afterwarde he came to Sleaford & taught the singing school there from the feast of all Saintes, 1601, untill Candlemas after, in which time he heard Mr. Newton the vicar there preach 3 or 4 times, & did like well of his doctrine, but neuer went about to censure the same as naught, neither yet did he euer affirm or maintaine that yt was a verie dangerous matter for simple people to read the scriptures in Englishe.

JOHN BURRELL.

Deinde dominus suspendet dictum Johannem Burrell ab execucione officii sui infra Dioc. Lincoln.

1603.

Somerby is a very small Lincolnshire village, rather more than three miles east of Brigg. The population in 1881 amounted but to eighty-seven souls. The present very small church shows but few traces of the beauty which a former fabric no doubt possessed. The chapel of the Holy Trinity attached to the church of Somerby received in 1440, by the bequest of Sir Thomas Cumberworth, many valuable ornaments, an inventory of which may be seen in the present writer's *English Church Furniture*, p. 180. Sir Thomas's will, which is a highly curious document, is printed in full in *The Academy*, vol. xvi. pp. 230, 284.

In all humble manner sheweth vnto your Lo. your petitioners the Inhabitanes of Somerbie in the Countie and Dioces of Lincoln whose names are vnderwritten, that whereas the parish church of Somerbie (beeing builded with the steeple in the middle therof, of a huge quantetie hable to receave manie hundreths of people) is now in great & notorious ruine and decay, so as the now Inhabitants theer are not possible hable to reedifie and repair the same according to the former now needles bignes, the present Inhabitanes being only three besides the parson.* It may therefore please your Lpp. to give licence to the said Inhabitanes to take down the said steeple to the height of the roof of the body of the said church and to destroye the now needles chauncell above the same and to convert the said steeple into a comelie & convenient chauncell and to build a steeple at the west end of the church sufficient to contein their bells and to provide thre bells and hang them in the same, fitt to be vsed for the service of god in the same church which your said parishoners with the said parson are willing, desirous, and ready in all thinges decentlie to performe. And so the same shall bee more fitt in euerie respect for the said small congregacion, and the same congregacion shall be eased of the intollerable burden of so huge, vast, and needles

* This must, of course, be understood as three households.

great church, and therebie bound to pray vnto god for the increase of your Lpp. in all happines.
Dated at Somerbie this viijth of June 1603.

Your Lo. most humble petitioners,

RICHARD ROSSETER,
ROBERT FARLEY, Rector,
WILLIAM MARRIS.

1627.

Broughton is a village two miles west of Brigg. The building mentioned in the following document was no doubt removed. It probably occupied the site of the present burial-place of the Anderson family.

After my humble dutye: may it please your Lordship to be informed that at our Church of Braughton, wherof Mr. Dalby is Parson, there is an old charnell house leaninge vppon the Church and Chauncell, and a great cause of decayes to them both. And therefore my selfe Mr. Dalbye and the parishioners do all pray your Lordships consent that since there is no vse, but much hurt, by the said howse, Mr. Dalbye may take it downe for the better repayringe, mayntenaunce & bewtifeing of the Chauncell. So with my acknowledgment of your Lordships many favours towards me, I rest

Your Lordships to be

Commanded,

WILLIAM ANDERSON.

ffrom my Chamber
in the fleet, June
18, 1627.

To the right
honourable the right reuerend
ffather in God the Lord
Bishop of Lincoln, one of
his majesties most honourable
privy counsell at
Buxden, these.

XI.—*On the Mural Paintings in All Saints Church, Friskney, Lincolnshire.*
Communicated by the Rev. HENRY JOHN CHEALES, M.A., Vicar of Friskney.

Read May 12, 1881, and Jan. 18, 1883.

THE Church of All Saints, Friskney (a village on the seacoast of Lincolnshire, four miles south of Wainfleet), is of early date, though the lower part of the tower is the only part of the original Norman church which has survived the many changes made in the fabric. The earliest historical record of it that I have been able to find is by Dugdale and by Tanner, who quote extracts from the Harleian Charters showing that in A.D. 1256, William de Kime made grant "cum omnibus terris in Friskenâ" (sometimes spelt Freschena), to endow the priory of Gilbertine monks at Bolynton (or Bullington), founded by Simon de Kime in Stephen's reign, and, together with the land, "omnes patronatus et advocaciones ecclesiarum de Bolynton et" (here follows a list of villages spread widely over Lincolnshire) "in medietate ecclesiæ de Friskenâ."

No mention is made as to who shared the patronage thus with Bullington priory; but, as Simon de Kime had given lands in Friskney to the abbey of Bardney, and from the charter-rolls of Bardney abbey we find the annual payments of salt from the salt-pans of Friskney by sextaries and bushels from many holders of the abbey-lands in Friskney (one item is "7 bushels of salt, 2 hens, and 1 capon"), it is not improbable that this abbey was the sharer of the patronage with Bullington priory.

Of the church, whose existence at the time of the endowment of Bullington priory is thus recorded, relics have recently come to light. Portions of Norman sculpture were found during the restoration of the church under Mr. Butterfield in 1879. Many fragments of stone coffins and coffin-lids of thirteenth century character were found built into the wall of the north aisle, and one entire lid, with a raised cross-calvary, was dug up three feet below the floor-level in

the north aisle. Remains of two beautiful arches with Norman mouldings were picked out of the rubble of the north aisle wall, and several Early Norman bases and capitals of pillars were found under the pillars of the arcade. An early English church succeeded or grew out of the original building; of this we have abundant evidence, notably in the tower, where the continuous weatherings above the lower (Early English) windows reveal the place from which sprung the spire, which was afterwards displaced for the present square battlemented tower. Early in the fifteenth century the church was much enlarged, a clerestory was added, supported by five lofty arches, together with north and south aisles in the Early Perpendicular style, and later in the century a very handsome chancel completed the church as it now stands.

This rebuilding of the nave gives us no doubt the date of its interior decorations. Colour was carried over the whole church; on the ceiled roof above the rood-loft (the stone staircase to which still exists) were stars, some of which now remain on the beams to which the ceiling was fitted: the monogram I. H. S. white letters on red ground, occurs in several places, and many oak-panels thus painted were found worked up among eighteenth-century pews. The spandrels of the (roof) "principals" were paneled above the rood-loft, and the paintings on them still remain, viz. Next to the chancel arch an angel with censer on each (north and south); on the next a priest kneeling before an altar in chasuble, a red cross on his breast (north side); on the south side a figure robed in white, holding a scroll in the right and a palm in the left hand.

The stone mouldings of the arcade and of the chancel arch were traced in light red, and the columns of the arcade were coloured (upon the stone itself) in a warm neutral (blue-grey) tint; the wall over the chancel arch was painted; and on the south side of the chancel arch was found at the church restoration a large figure which had evidently been painted at two successive periods, the latter painting being much more rich and positive in colour. The whole clerestory north and south was painted with figures and (as far as hitherto discovered) Scriptural scenes. In them the colouring itself seems to offer some clue to their date, for the use of broken tints in combination with white to give a soft effect points to a time when the windows were in "grisaille"; and before the period when, with rich coloured window glass (for which this church was, on the testimony of Gervase Hollis, afterwards famous), mural paintings were generally worked up to the same key of colour as the windows.

Be that as it may, the general effect of colour in the church must have been very charming, the soft tint of the ground on which the figures were drawn

harmonising beautifully with the tone of the sculptured stone of the whole interior.

We cannot see these vestiges of a loving and artistic treatment of decoration in God's House without being led to inquire—Whence was this art? What was the school in which those skilled workers for the Church learnt their craft? From what models and accepted methods of delineating sacred subjects in paintings which, spite of their quaint simplicity, show not only distinct devotional feeling, but considerable grace in artistic composition?

The question leads us far back into the past.

The art of mural-pictorial decoration existing in such perfection (witness Rome and Pompeii) in the earliest age of Christianity, was gradually, though very cautiously, adopted and Christianised. In the catacombs of Rome there are examples of its presence, although devotional feeling, which has ever sought the aid of art for its expression, then confined itself to a careful and restricted symbolism in such representations as the "good Shepherd," the dove, the ark, the fish, the lyre, and the anchor. But when Paganism was conquered,—and, under Constantine, temples became basilicas, and handsome churches for Christian worship were built,—art as well as architecture was accepted and consecrated to the uses of the purer faith. The chief room of Constantine's palace was adorned with representations of sacred subjects, including one of the Crucifixion. There is even earlier mention of the art, for in the Council of Eliberis (Elvira, near Granada) there is reference to paintings in churches, A.D. 305. (Hardouin, *Councils*, vol. i. p. 254; Neander's *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i. p. 405.) At the end of the fourth century the walls of many churches were painted with martyrdoms and scriptural scenes (J. C. Robertson's *History of the Christian Church*, 1867, vol. i. p. 359; Neander, vol. iii. p. 408); but it was not till the end of that century that single figures were thus painted, nor was the Saviour himself represented otherwise than in symbolical forms until the next century; and (to quote from a very interesting pamphlet by Mr. J. Fowler on the mural paintings of All Saints church, Wakefield) "from the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and even of Theodosius downwards, paintings covered the whole interior of churches in the greater part of Europe on subjects illustrative of Christian doctrine, such as those brought from Rome by St. Benedict Biscop in the seventh century for his church at Monk Wearmouth;"^a and these paintings were either varnished, distemper, or encaustic." Gregory of Tours mentions a

^a Vide life of St. Benedict-Biscop, in Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Jan. 12.

basilica in Paris of the sixth century with portico covered with figures of saints and other sacred subjects (*Ecclesiologist*, vol. xxiv. p. 353.) In the ninth century the Emperor Charlemagne laid down positive directions for ornamenting churches with paintings; and on the revival of learning in the ninth and tenth centuries abbeys and cathedral churches employed artists (Taylor's *Fresco and Encaustic*.) The discoveries in San Clemente at Rome prove the maintenance of decorative art there till the end of the eleventh century.

As to the church of Saxon England, I do not know what vestiges or record there may be of decorative treatment by colour; but if it be true, as appears from the testimony above given, that the custom prevailed gradually in the Church throughout Europe, we may assume that it prevailed here: it would be difficult, I think, to prove the contrary. Monasteries were the repositories and schools of art; and monasteries were, we may say, cosmopolitan. The Italian monks of St. Augustine, and the five Italian bishops who succeeded him at Canterbury, would consider what was right for a church in Italy to be also right for one built here. In the case of such men as Theodore of Tarsus, with his schools of learning at Canterbury and Oxford, and of Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, men instructed in the arts of Rome, years of study in France and Italy must have influenced them in the work of church-building and adornment to which they gave themselves in England.

Alcuin, one of the most distinguished of Saxon Churchmen, was minister of public instruction under Charlemagne. Apart, too, from the inferences which we may thus draw, we have also positive testimony (as in the case of Monk-Wearmouth, above mentioned), such as the record of Wiglaf, King of Mercia, giving to the monks of Crowland a splendid suit of embroidered hangings, representing the siege of Troy, to ornament their church.

After the Norman Conquest the foreign element in our monasteries would become still stronger; and we may safely say that whatever art was known by the monks of France and the Continent was known, too, in England.

In the thirteenth century we come to a record in writing of this special art, viz. treatises by Theophilus and Eraclius, who distinctly describe painting in distemper. The colours are to be first mixed with lime and then applied to the wall; the process is not that of the true fresco (*fresco-buono*), or painting upon plaster when freshly laid, so as to absorb the colour, but of *fresco-secco*, or painting in distemper upon a wall previously faced with plaster. This is the character of the paintings in Friskney church.

We find, then, that from historical record, and from the evidence supplied by

a multitude of English churches where traces of mural paintings remain, we are justified in saying that not only was colour a necessary adjunct to church architecture, but that mural decoration was considered as much a necessity to a completed church, even the simplest village church, as paint or paper to the walls of a modern dwelling-house. And the motive is plain—it was, next after the desire to beautify God's House, an intention to instruct and edify the people—"Picturæ Ecclesiarum," so said the Synod of Arras, "libri laicorum."

This art, retained in the monasteries, and, as we may affirm, never lost, seems to have been largely employed in decoration of churches in the fifteenth century; and we may conclude, I think, that to the abbey of Bardney or priory of Bullington the church of Friskney was indebted for its extensive paintings, a goodly number of which will, we trust, soon reappear to tell their own story.

These paintings cover the clerestory on either side at a height of 25 feet from the pavement. Each subject is contained in the space between the windows of the clerestory above and the upper part of the nave arches below, of the shape shown by the tracing and the copies in chromo-lithograph reduced from the tracings. They are not carried up to the roof but to a line level with the stone brackets supporting the principals. As exception to this, the easternmost paintings on either wall, north and south, viz., those close to the rood-loft, were carried up quite to the wall-plate.

As to the process, a coat of coarse plaster was first drawn over the rubble of the wall, and upon that a finer plaster or stucco to receive the colour. The second coat or facing varies in thickness from a quarter of an inch to that of good note-paper, and varies much in smoothness of surface. Where the surface is *good* the drab-wash subsequently smeared over the paintings (four or five coats in depth) scales off; but in many places, specially where there is a bulging or inequality in the wall, the surface is rough and gritty, and the removal of the drab-wash most difficult.*

After five years of labour in scraping off the covering of drab-wash, I have

* In some cases the second or surface-coat of plaster has separated from that behind it, and falls out unless great care be taken in touching it. The whole wall up to the roof-plate seems to have been painted with a ground of warm stone-colour (red and yellow ochre), and the subjects drawn upon it in the spaces above-mentioned in line-drawings of light red, black being sometimes used to strengthen the lines. Tints of yellow ochre with red generally for the head and beards; blue and occasionally brown in a few instances for the robes; a light and bright red for the angels' wings. In all the subjects up to this time discovered the figures stand out from a back-ground of dark crimson, a very effective means for making them discernible from the floor of the church below.

succeeded in bringing to light the four subjects which I will now endeavour to describe—two of which are represented in the Plates annexed.

“THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.”

This painting is on the north clerestory wall, next to the rood-loft. The Virgin crowned and in the “Vesica” is being borne upwards by the outstretched arms of four angels. A figure representing an aged person bends over her above, and a scroll with remains of black lettering seems to indicate words spoken by the Father in Heaven; another scroll with lettering better preserved is on the upper left side of the Vesica. The small pinions of the angels were of bright vermilion; the long wings, sweeping downwards, of dark red shaded with black lines. (The short sleeves on the angels’ arms are peculiar, and may be perhaps suggestive of a date to the painting.) This picture is full of graceful motion, and there is considerable sweetness in the faces. Under the Vesica the plaster has been greatly destroyed; there seem rays as from the sun, and still lower on each side are what may have been intended for the trees of the earth below.

“THE STABLE AT BETHLEHEM.”

The Virgin and Child under a thatched shed (the thatch in yellow ochre), the wattled fence, and the ox and ass. There seems to be represented a combination of three events. 1st. The Message to the Shepherds. 2nd. The Visit of the Shepherds to the Stable. 3rd. The Adoration of the Magi. As to the last it is very doubtful, for as yet only one figure on the right of the picture has been disclosed (and that but partially). It may be meant for St. Joseph, but the outstretched hand seems to be making an offering. The arm of the Virgin Mother passing under the child supports His right hand, which has the thumb and two fingers raised as in blessing. The shepherds on the left of the picture are very quaint. They stand looking upward as if startled at the message of the angel (with scroll above the roof on their right), and one of them clings with his arm to the prop of the shed. They wear curious gauntlets with only one division for the fingers. The shepherd on the left of his fellow has on his chin a swelling much like a goitre (was the artist perhaps some Italian monk whose ideas of shepherds or herdsmen were associated with Alpine pastures?), and on either side of his temples stands up a little sharp-pointed appendage which can scarcely

be accepted as a lock of hair, but bears more resemblance to a small horn, and which, together with something of a leer in his face, gives him much the appearance of a "prick-eared satyr." (Can it be that in a rude symbolism is here implied the subjugation of the heathen world with its pagan demi-gods, fauns, satyrs, &c. to Christ?) The lower part of this subject is still to be disclosed.

"THE LAST SUPPER."

In this we have a representation of "The Supper" *before the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, i.e.,* "as they were eating" (and drinking), a fact which is depicted with considerable force and quaintness. The incident portrayed is apparently the departure of Judas after having received "the sop."

The left hand of Our Lord holds a bowl, not, I think, a cup or chalice, but the bowl from which the sop has been taken, and the right hand is over the bowl, the fingers extended. The figure next to Our Lord on the right is probably St. Peter; the "tonsure" seems to mark him. Next to him, and also the figure next to the Lord on the left, the "the Lord's brethren," St. John, the beloved disciple, leans on His breast. At the extreme left, Judas, a face with a large and hideous mouth, stands apparently in a doorway, holding in the fingers of his right hand what is, perhaps, a coin taken from the "bag" suspended from his neck, and which he holds up, as if to show that he was going out to "buy something against the Feast." * On the scrolls or legends, which are added to the figures of Our Lord, St. Peter, and St. John, and on the other scroll, which is stretched across the centre of the table downwards, there is slight indication of lettering. We may suppose, I think, that they bore the Lord's words, "one of you shall betray me"; and the question by the disciples, "Is it I?"

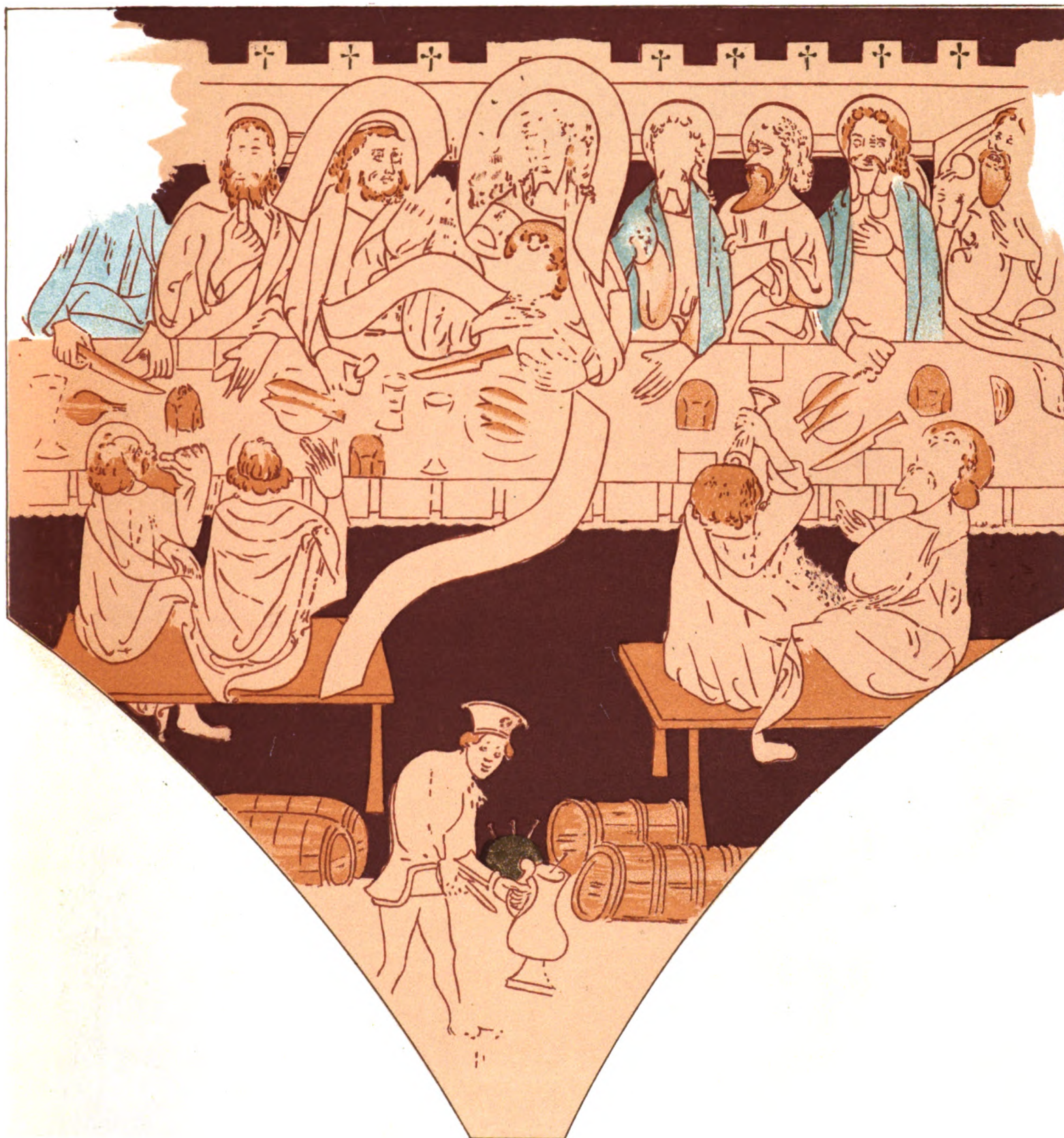
Below this group a curious incident is introduced to suit the shape of the spandrel, representing a servitor drawing wine in a sort of cellar from one of four hooped barrels. His right hand holds the plug just removed from the barrel, which discharges a red stream of wine into a large flagon, grasped by a curved handle in the left hand. Just above the flagon is a curious sort of cushion, in which are stuck three pins, or pegs, perhaps on which to hang the flagons, perhaps plugs for the barrels. The square cap of the servitor, with rosette in front, seems to point to the costume of about Henry the Sixth's reign. Com-

* Or "the sop," which he has just "received"—the circular object, which he holds in his fingers, seems too large for a coin.



the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are illiterate has increased from 1.2 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of illiterate people in the world is expected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015. The number of illiterate people in the world is expected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015. The number of illiterate people in the world is expected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015.

[illegible]



C F Kell, Lith.

THE LAST SUPPER; FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884

paring this treatment of "The Supper" with other examples, we find a conventional method followed in several particulars—

- 1st, The position of St. John ;
- 2nd, The presence of the fish ;
- 3rd, Of the bee-hive-shaped loaves of bread, the small plates before each figure, and the portion of a melon, or some such fruit ;
- 4th, The absence of the nimbus on Judas ;
- 5th, The creases in the fringe of the table-cloth ;
- 6th, St. Peter on Our Lord's right, and with the tonsure ;
- 7th, The position of Our Lord in the centre on the further side of the table.

This is almost invariable from the earliest painting of the "Cæna" (that from the tomb of St. Calixtus in the catacombs of Rome). The only exception which I am aware of is in a mosaic of the twelfth century at Monreale, where the Lord sits at the right extremity of a crescent-shaped table, and is giving the sop to Judas, who kneels alone. On the other hand, the position of Judas here given is very rare ; he is usually painted as alone on the near side of the table, and no other instance have I found of his holding up a coin, or sop, as here.

The idea of Judas about to make exit by the door is also given in a painting by Marco Palmezzano da Forli, where he kneels by the door, and seems watching opportunity to steal away ; also by Nicolo Poussin—Judas is seen behind, stealing out of the room ; also by Fra Angelico—all kneel ; Judas kneels near an open door. For examples of incidents introduced, as here, which seem beneath the dignity of the subject :—In a window at Antwerp cathedral (sixteenth century), a figure on the near side of the table is drinking with uplifted hand, just as shown here ; and Albano represents one of the disciples as peeping into an empty wine-pitcher, with a disappointed look. Stradano introduces a kitchen, and cooking of supper in the background. The grouping of figures on the near side of the table is exceptional, but it is found—as in the window of Antwerp cathedral (above mentioned), and in a Flemish window, A.D. 1542, of which a copy is in the South Kensington Museum, in which also is the only instance (under my notice) of *square* plates or trenchers on the table, as here.

"THE MANNA."

We may safely, I think, pronounce the subject of this painting to be "The Descent of the Manna from Heaven," or "The Gathering of the Manna." The position of the picture, in immediate proximity to that of "The Lord's Supper"

(it occurs on the next spandrel), would naturally suggest that interpretation, affording another instance of the general custom to associate in the Church's illustrative teaching, the symbolism of an Old Testament type with its counterpart in the Gospel Revelation. In the position of these two pictures, side by side, we have what we may almost call a pictorial commentary on the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel; a comparison and harmony of type and anti-type sanctioned by the very words of Holy Writ: "He gave them bread out of heaven to eat." John vi. 31. "I am the bread of life. . . . This is the bread which cometh down out of heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die." ver. 48, 50 (*Rev. Vers.*)

The scene is represented with a primitive simplicity and realism which we should expect in a delineation of anything like landscape at that period; but not without a certain grace of artistic composition. There is the heaven above (very closely above, certainly), denoted by a broad wash of some light tint, not with straight, regular edge, as in a mere border, but with lower edge undulating; and on it, here and there, black lines, which may be meant for lower edges of clouds. From this heaven are poured down streaks, three in number, two of them after the form of a water-spout, and reaching to the earth; the third and middle one much shorter, as only in the course of falling. On these light-coloured streaks small circular marks in black say, as it were, "This is the manna." The place on which it falls may be described as a hill-side, the slope of ground being from the right to left of the picture. Upon it, and in strong relief against the distance, which is represented by a dark crimson background, is a group engaged in gathering the manna. Prominent on the right is a tall and not ungraceful figure of a female bending over another female, who kneels to receive in her apron, held up by both hands, the manna, which the figure above is pouring out of her right hand from a vessel held in her left. The head-dress of this latter figure, also her sleeves, and the head-dress of the upright figure above left, may give some indication of the date of the painting, though it does not necessarily follow that the artist should have represented the costume of his own, rather than that of a previous period.^a

^a What this upright figure holds in her hands it is difficult to say, as the wall here as also about her face is much injured. I first took it to be a vessel, similar to those in the hands of the other figures, but further examination, and the evident presence of blue colouring here, leads me to the conviction that this is not a vessel, but part of her dress which this figure is holding in both hands, probably an apron, from which she pours the manna into a vessel (of which there are faint indications) on the ground at her feet.





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THE GATHERING OF THE MANNA, FRISKNEY CHURCH LINCOLNSHIRE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.

There are no indications of the manna lying in any quantity upon the ground ; but there is nothing strange in this if we bear in mind that, in a picture painted to be seen from a distance of some twenty-five feet below, such minute details could not have been visible.

There remain, however, upon the ground on the right of the picture, two small carefully-painted objects, about the size and shape of a walnut, and another such near the feet of one of the male figures, which we may fairly pronounce to be specimens of the fallen "manna."

Besides the group of females we see, divided from them by the longest streak descending from heaven, a group of two male figures erect, and, notably in the case of the figure on the extreme left, of a reverent and dignified mien.

The pose of this figure, specially in the easy, graceful carriage of the right arm and hand (which supports a scroll of equal length to his own stature), is really fine ; as also the bold outline of the head, with flowing locks and beard.

This, without doubt, represents Moses, for there are the typical horns rising from his forehead ; and by his left shoulder is a fragment of what was evidently the upper part of the Tables of the Law.

To him another figure advances, holding towards him in the palm of the left hand some pieces of the manna, while his right grasps a vessel, or "pot of manna," similar to those above mentioned.

In the costume of this figure we notice the head-dress with folds lined in dark red, and like those of a turban ; also, the cape on his shoulder, the curious sleeve, and the long pointed shoes. In the lower and narrow part of the spandrel are two figures of smaller stature, and (as in the case of the "Cæna") of more homely character. In the male figure the close-fitting round cap and loose sleeves may be noticed. The female kneels in the same attitude as that of her above (right) ; and the apron with folds, almost identical with that above, seems ready to receive the manna. The pot, or vessel, between the two is, apparently, grasped by the left hand of the female.

Scrolls, with faint vestiges of black lettering, are attached to all the figures except the upright female figure, and in the case of the small male figure the scroll proceeds, not from the lips as usual, but from the tip of the extended fingers of the left hand.

There is a special interest in the discovery of this painting, inasmuch as there is no other known instance, as far as I am aware, of this subject in fresco or mural painting. This is remarkable, when we know that the fellow picture, as we may call it, of "The Supper," is a subject of such frequent occurrence. One

only instance of a representation of the manna has come to my knowledge. It is mentioned by Mr. John Henry Middleton, Fellow of this Society, that some years ago he noticed a mural representation of this subject at the church of S. Agostino at Perugia—a painting which has since been destroyed. It was, however, a favourite subject in mediæval *glass*.

The process of removing the drab-wash which covers these paintings is exceedingly tedious and difficult, specially where the face of the wall is uneven, the inner surface of the rubble having been in some places barely covered by the facing of plaster upon which the subjects were painted. In depressions of the wall, the "wash" scales off tolerably well, usually showing the lines of colour clear and uninjured; but, on projections of the wall, the coating of plaster was very thin—in some places it has quite gone—in others, the brush carrying the subsequent drab-wash, having firmer pressure over the projecting part, has left streaks of that wash, which defy scraping. In parts, the "wash" seems to have been mixed with some tenacious and staining matter so strongly that the stains cannot be removed without going quite through to the rubble behind.

There are eight more spandrels on which I hope to work with more or less success—I am now engaged upon a very fairly preserved "Ascension" in the north clerestory.

The question of the preservation, or even partial restoration, of these paintings, is one of great interest. I am inclined to think that the lines might be very carefully and judiciously strengthened with colour, and the worst of the scars and deformities of the wall mended with plaster, tinted to the tone of the existing ground. The whole of the series might thus be in time recovered, and, if the walls of the clerestory above the paintings as well as the arches below were carefully treated in colour, some vestige of the original beauty of the church's interior decoration be retained.

XII.—*On some Accounts of the Royal Wardrobe in the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.* By HENRY SALUSBURY MILMAN, Esq., M.A., Director.

Read January 27, 1881.

At the meeting of the Society on this day, the Earl of Ashburnham exhibited the MS. Account of the Keeper of the Royal Wardrobe for 28 Edward I. 1299-1300, for comparison with that of the Controller of the Royal Wardrobe for the same year, which has long been in the Society's library, and was printed by them in 1787. The volume exhibited is described in the *Catalogue of the Ashburnham MSS.* Appendix, 1861, No. cxv. In connection with this exhibition the Director made the following remarks:—

“At the above period of history there were always, as I shall presently show, two concurrent Accounts of the Royal Wardrobe, the Keeper's Account and the Controller's Account, but in no instance but this, so far as I know, have both for the same period survived to our time.

The Keeper's Account before us was acquired by the late Earl of Ashburnham, and, through the courtesy of the present Earl, Fellow of our Society, has been left here for several weeks for our perusal.

The Controller's Account for the same year is the earliest of four like volumes which were presented to our Society by the Honourable Daines Barrington from Sir Ashton Lever, Knight, both then Fellows, on the 27th of January, 1780 (*Archaeologia*, VII. 418), and are numbered 119-122 in our Catalogue of MSS.

This earliest Account now before us was printed in 1787 by our Society as *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ*, 28 Edward I. It had been mutilated before it came to us. At its beginning the first eight of the ten folios which showed the receipt through the Exchequer, at its end the nineteen folios which showed the Prestitæ, were missing. In printing, the remaining two of the ten receipt folios were purposely omitted, the sum of the receipt through the Exchequer only being given.

It might seem at first sight that the proper use to be made of the presence of the Ashburnham Account in our library would be, to transcribe therefrom the folios wanting in our Account, and print them as the complement to our print of 1787. On careful consideration I have formed a different opinion. The value of our print consists, not so much in showing with commercial accuracy how every item of receipt and expenditure in the Account for that year arose and contributed to the totals, as in exhibiting the manner of keeping such Accounts, and in illustrating by its details the history, language, art, and manners of the time. This is already done. The print has been for nearly a century useful to antiquaries in such researches, and may further be regarded as pointing to the value of like Accounts still remaining in MS. I believe that the printing powers of our Society may be exerted more profitably in other directions, but that I may do a slight service to antiquarian science by explaining how it came to pass that there were two original Accounts of the same transactions kept, and how those Accounts became identical.

It appears from the *Dialogus de Scaccario* (Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, 1711; Stubbs, *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English History*, 1870) that before the reign of Henry II. there was established in the Exchequer of the kingdom a system of double Accounts, that is to say, a *secondary* Account contemporary with and checking the *primary* Account. This *secondary* Account was kept with minute care, 'that its roll might answer to the other roll, that neither one iota might be wanting nor the order of writing be different.' Under this rule, every leaf and page of the *secondary* answered to a leaf and page of the *primary*; and so the audit at the end of the year was carried out with ease and accuracy.

The writer of the *primary* roll was the clerk of the Treasurer; the writer of the *secondary* roll was the clerk of the Chancellor. The audit consisted in the Treasurer and Chancellor each with his clerk meeting in conference, and the clerks going over their respective rolls and adding the note 'pb,' probatum, to each item as finally settled. Thus the two rolls became in substance, and almost in form, identical.

It may be noted here, as a matter of curiosity, that the administrative genius of Henry II. provided in this very important office a *tertiary* Account as a check upon the other two, 'because it is written *Funiculus triplex difficile solvitur*.'

The two Accounts now before us show that the plan followed in the Exchequer of the Kingdom was also followed in the household or Wardrobe of the King.

The *Custos* or Keeper of the Wardrobe kept, by his clerk, the *primary* Account called the 'Compotus.' Another officer, the *Contrarotulator* or Controller, kept, by his clerk, the *secondary* Account called the 'Liber Cotidianus Contrarotulatoris,' or 'Contrarotulus Compoti.' As in the Exchequer, so in the Wardrobe, line almost answered to line, leaf and page quite answered to leaf and page, and the audit was carried out in like manner.

In the Exchequer the two rolls, after audit, were deposited each in its own series apart; but in the Wardrobe they were, after a time, deposited together in the treasury of the Wardrobe. Doubtless this ordinary arrangement was often disturbed by the troubles which fell upon the royal household and rapid changes in its officers; and hence most of the rolls of both series were dispersed and lost. But for the 28 Edward I. both rolls, as we see, survive. They correspond as required by the rule derived from the Exchequer, leaf to leaf, page to page, almost line to line. The 'probatum,' the mark of audit, has been affixed to the sum of every page, and to the sum of every leaf on its second page, and in some cases, where the sum has been apparently corrected by a second audit, a second mark is affixed to the finally stated sum. The rolls are neither a copy of the other, but separately kept Accounts for the year, brought on the expiration of the year into agreement in the manner described.

In a list of articles remaining in the Royal Wardrobe at the end of 27 Edward I. (see the printed Account, p. 349) are specified eight Wardrobe-Books, two for every year, of four, namely, 15, 16, 17, and 18 Edward I., and divers rolls (some in pockets of hemp) of Wardrobe Accounts of divers years, and of various accounts rendered in the Wardrobe. These entries show the regular course of preserving the two corresponding Accounts of every year together, and the partial disturbance of this regular course.

Of the four Wardrobe-books in our library three are in Latin and the fourth in French.

The three in Latin are Wardrobe Accounts of the 'Controller' series.

No. 119, the earliest (that printed), is called 'Liber Cotidianus Contrarotulatoris,' 28 Edward I.

No. 120, the second, is called 'Contrarotulus Compoti Custodis,' 10 Edward II.

No. 121, the third, is called 'Liber Cotidianus Contrarotulatoris,' 11 Edward II.

No. 122, the French book, is not strictly a Wardrobe Account, but rather a collection of notes of money transactions rendered in the Wardrobe in successive years, as materials for the Wardrobe Accounts of those years. It belongs to the Treasurer or Keeper series, and comprises notes for the 18th, 19th, and 20th, the three last years of Edward II. Many of the entries have been made hastily and informally. In reference to the change of language and looser arrangement, one must bear in mind the growing preference of the King, as his reign proceeded, for foreign officers and attendants, and the confusion of civil war during these latter years. These are probably the very documents which accompanied him in his later marches, voyages, and flights. The last ends in October, 20 Edward II. 1326, about the time when he endeavoured to cross from South Wales to Ireland, was driven back by adverse weather, and finally captured at Neath. Some of the notes of expenses bear the sign of 'audit or check, 'pb', and in two places notice is taken of the commencement of the year in October, 'according to the rule of the Exchequer.'"

XIII.—*Account of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Wycombe.*

By JOHN PARKER, Esq., F.S.A.

Read March 16, 1882.

BISHOP TANNER informs us that the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Chepping Wycombe in Buckinghamshire was founded for a master, brethren, and sisters before 20 Hen. III.* As the remains of the buildings belonging to it are threatened with demolition in the carrying out of a scheme for erecting a new Grammar School, sanctioned by the Charity Commissioners on the application of the Governors of the Wycombe Grammar School and Almshouse Foundation, it will be interesting, in the first place, to give some notion of the original situation of the Hospital and its surroundings. The present street, called Easton Street, a portion of the road from London to Oxford, cuts through what must have been a part of the Hospital grounds, and renders it difficult to realise the appearance of the place in the twelfth century, the street having been formed close to the buildings and leaving them in an irregular position.

The situation of the Hospital, as regards the town of Wycombe, was eastward in a part called Estynton, or East Town, and this seems to indicate that it was outside the ancient *terræ dominicales*, constituting the small burg in Saxon times.^b Estynton, or East Town, possibly a cluster of a few houses with the Hospital, and the ancient mill, known as Pann Mill, for its principal buildings, was so far a separate district that we find it had its own fair on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr. According to early records it was the aim of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of Wycombe to make this fair as popular as could be; for by an order of the court, in 1527, the invitation to it is thus given: "For all manner of pepuls for cum to the forsayde fayer free w'oute any maner of staullayge payde that day to the bayllys." The fair, however, did not long exist,

* *Not. Mon.* 1744, Buckinghamshire, "Wycomb." See also Willis's *Not. Parl.* vol. ii. 1716. App. to vol. i. p. 7, and vol. i. 2nd ed. 1780, p. 118.

^b See Parker's *Wycombe*, 1878, p. 34.

notwithstanding strenuous exertions, in the shape of severe enactments, on the part of the corporation to maintain it in perpetuity. Estynton has long been united to the town of Wycombe by the name of Easton Street.

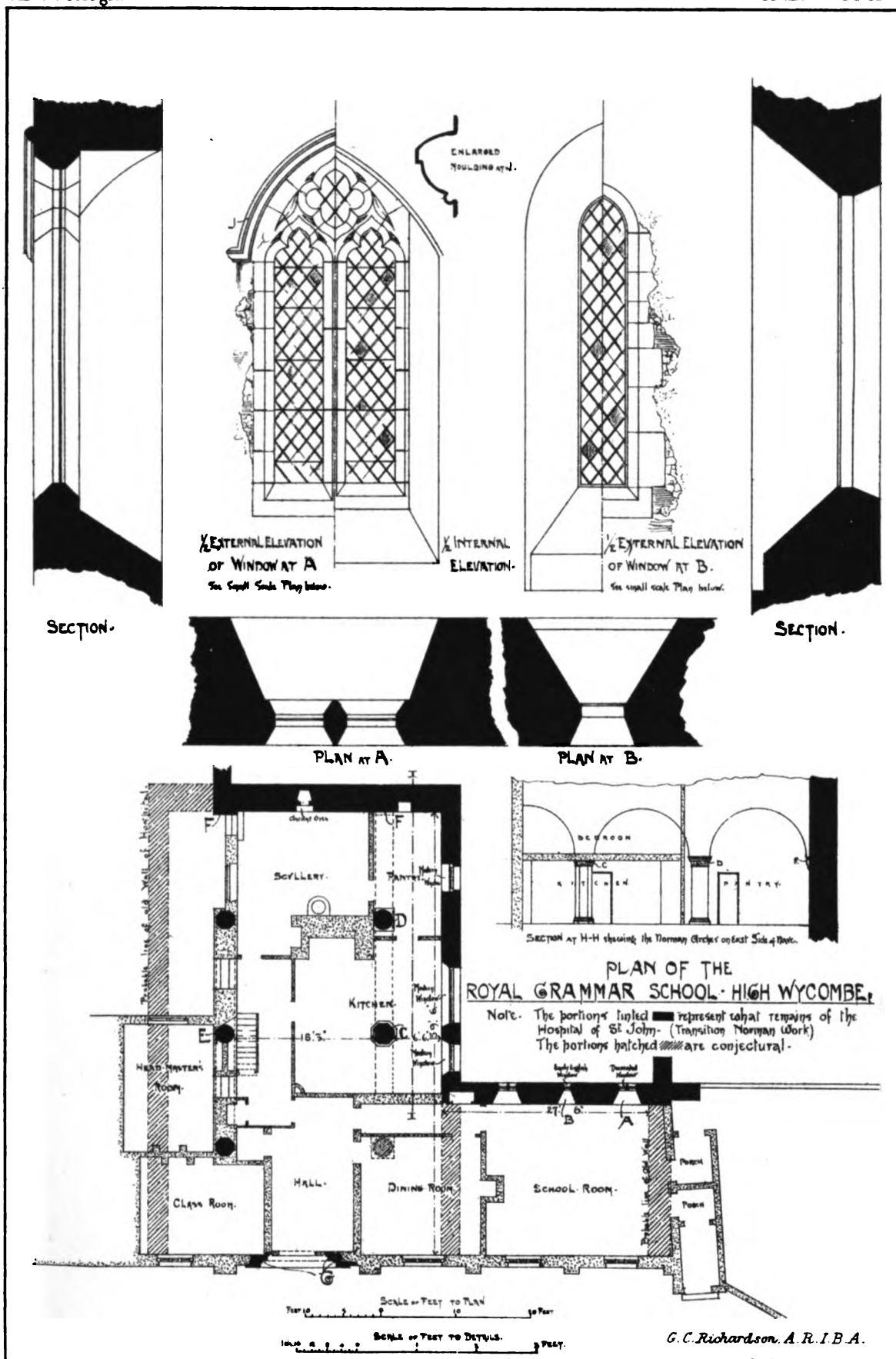
The buildings fronted the south, having the river Wick flowing by; a piece of land belonging to the foundation, called Naith's Mead, now partly sold away, and partly built over with Almshouses, stretched along between the buildings and the river; at the back of the buildings were grounds belonging to the foundation, now partly occupied by the orchard of the head-master of the Grammar School; on the other side of the river was the Rye Mead, then, as now, an appurtenant of the foundation.

A few words about this Mead may be interesting. It was a piece of commonable land of about thirty acres, and from very early times into the eighteenth century extended in a much more westwardly direction towards the town than it does at the present day. An exchange of lands between Lord Shelburne and the corporation of Wycombe was effected shortly after 1753. Though no records are extant of this exchange, the effect of it was that portions of the old Rye were taken into Lord Shelburne's park, and his lordship gave up certain lands to the corporation, which brought the Mead into a more uniform shape. The land, however, which Lord Shelburne added to his park was the portion of the original mead which lay in front of the Hospital. This exchange therefore severed, so far as situation was concerned, the association of the Rye Mead with the Hospital.

An author of a curious MS. descriptive of the borough of Wycombe in the beginning of the last century, says, "All the inhabitants of the borough have liberty at all times to walk and use sports and pastimes, such as running, leaping, wrestlings, riding, backswords, and other plays at their pleasure, without being trespassers." The inhabitants have also had by immemorial usage the privilege of depasturing certain cattle in the Mead. As early as the thirteenth century the Rye Mead is mentioned as a common meadow belonging to the corporation of Wycombe. We are told that "it was really the common pasture of the tenants of the ancient demesne of Wycombe prior to the incorporation of the borough, and on the incorporation the burgesses entered into the rights of the tenants."^a It was in this Mead that, at the law days and views of frankpledge, all the leases were renewed, and fresh grants made in the presence of the inhabitants, a custom which had doubtless been handed down from Saxon times.

The Rye is at the present day the people's park for an increasing town,

^a See *Wycombe*, pp. 26, 27.



THE HOSPITAL OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, HIGH WYCOMBE.

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besides supplying a pasturage for the cattle of the burgesses; and the power conferred on the governors of the foundation under the Wycombe Borough Extension Act 1880, to frame bye-laws for its management, will be the means of making this ancient recreation ground a still greater boon to the townspeople.

No record exists, of which I am aware, of the origin of the foundation of the Hospital of St. John. The popular idea in the locality is, that, as it was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, it belonged first to the Templars and then to the Knights Hospitallers; such a theory is not without some justification, for we know that the Hospitallers "placed small societies of their brethren under the government of a commander. These were allowed proper maintenance out of the revenues under their care, and accounted for the remainder to the grand prior in London."^a

That the Templars had extensive lands at Wycombe is clear,^b for the most important manor at one time at Wycombe was the manor of Temple Wycombe, though at the present day there is scarcely any property held under its court-rolls. This manor is chiefly known now by a farm, once belonging to it, called Temple Farm, and by the road leading to the homestead called Temple End. We learn that King John granted this with other manors to Robert de Vipont. This Robert was a great friend and benefactor of the Knights Templars, and he granted these manors, bestowed on him by King John, to the Templars, who enjoyed them till the dissolution of their order by Edward II. in 1324, when it is supposed Temple Wycombe was granted—as was, it is needless to say, generally the case with the property of the Templars—to the Knights Hospitallers.^c This supposition appears to be correct; for we find, from the report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for 1338, in the schedules of properties belonging to their chief house in London, the priory of Clerkenwell, that, amongst the "bona quondam Templi," the following entry occurs, "et de firma de Wycomb," let for 18 marks.^d

It might be conjectured that on the suppression of the Templars, as great accession of property was made to the Hospitallers, the small societies of the former passed with their estates to the latter; and an inference might be drawn from this, that the foundation of St. John at Wycombe in a similar way possibly came into the possession of the Hospitallers; but all the facts relating to

^a Dugdale's *Monast.* 1830, vol. vi. p. 786.

^b "They had great property in this hundred": see Langley's *Desborough*, 1797, p. 298.

^c *Wycombe*, p. 16.

^d *Camd. Soc.* No. LXV. 1857, p. 59.

the Hospital and its properties are against this supposition. The true account seems to be, that this was one of the hospitals of the order of St. Augustine for the relief of poor and impotent persons, occupying the same place in the Middle Ages, though regarded as an institution of greater dignity, than the union workhouse now fills. I have said that this Hospital was of the order of St. Augustine. It is mentioned among the many other hospitals of that order enumerated by the subsequent editors of Dugdale's *Monasticon*; and their enumeration appears to be correct, judging from the authorities I am about to quote. The Austin Friars, or Eremites, founded by William Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Poitou about the year 1150,^a were by Pope Alexander IV. gathered from their scattered communities into a single order under a prior-general, and removed by him into cities and towns. "They wore a black robe and girdle, and observed the so-called rule of St. Augustine, which was adopted by all other *Mendicant Orders*."^b

The religious order of poor Catholics founded by Pierre Valdo about 1160, we are told, wore the habit of the Eremites of St. Augustine, and made profession of that order.^c Thus we connect the mendicant orders and houses for the reception of the poor with the order of St. Augustine, as adopting the rule of that order.

Tanner says: "Besides the poor and impotent there generally were in these hospitals two or three religious; one to be master or prior, and one or two to be chaplains and confessors; and these observed the rule of St. Austin, and probably subjected the poor and impotent to some religious restraint, as well as to the local statutes."

In the case of the Wycombe Hospital the Master was also the chaplain of the community.

The valley in which the town of Wycombe lies has always been rich and fertile. The sokemen who owned the common fields on the slopes of this valley probably founded the Hospital at the first as a resting-place for pilgrims and travellers, and ultimately it became a refuge for the poor and aged of the locality.

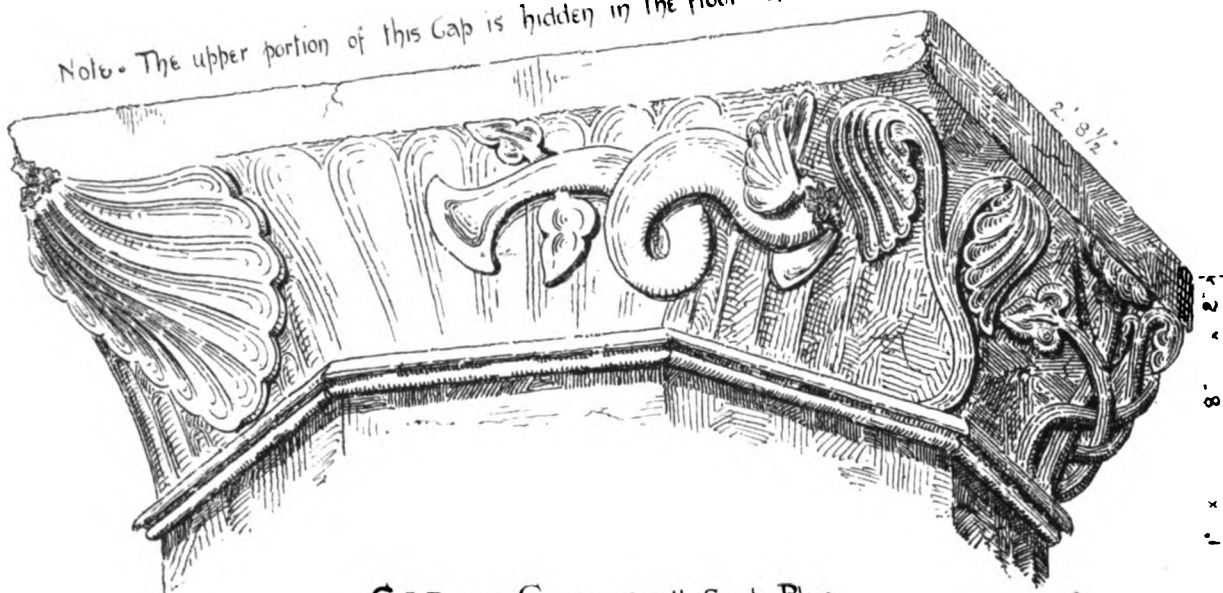
"Hospitals were originally designed for relief and entertainment of travellers upon the road, particularly of pilgrims; and therefore were generally built on the road side. In later times they have always been founded for fixed in-

^a Walcott's *Sacred Archæology*, 1868, p. 51.

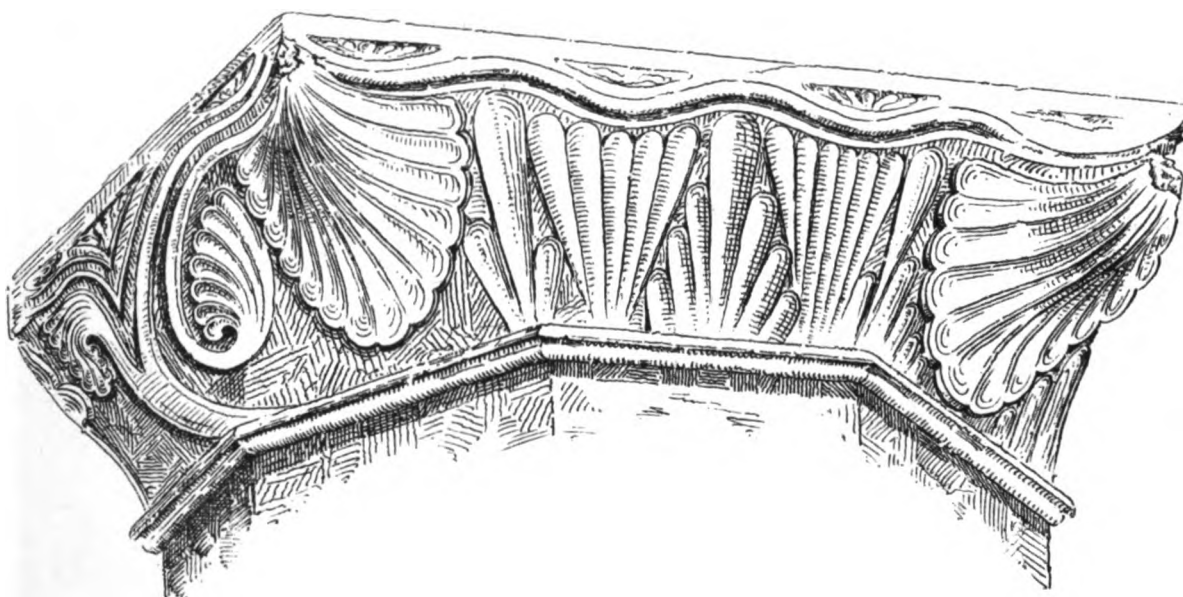
^b Fosbroke's *British Monachism*, 1802, p. 22.

^c Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques Religieux et Militaires et des Congrégations Séculières*, 1714-19, tom. iii.

Note. The upper portion of this Cap is hidden in the floor above.



CAP AT C. see Small Scale Plan.



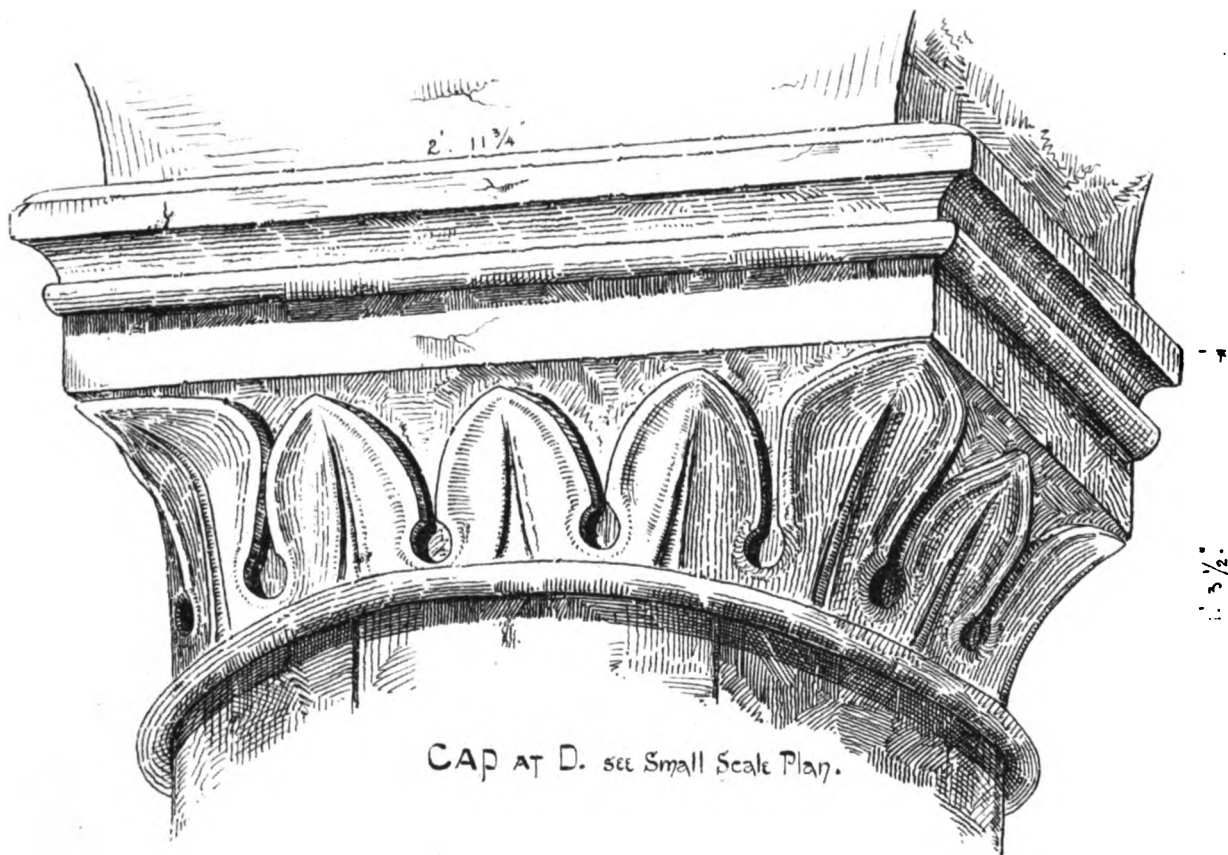
CAP AT C. REVERSE SIDE. see Small Scale Plan.

G. C. Richardson, A.R.I.B.A.

C. F. Kell. Lith.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, HIGH WYCOMBE.

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habitants. The Maison Dieu at Dover, St. John's Hospital at Warwick, and some others, were expressly founded for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims and travellers." ^a

The foundation of this Hospital must be left, to a certain extent, as we have seen, to conjecture, but we have the evidence of grants being from time to time made to it by pious benefactors which added to its income. Thus we find that Thomas Walder of Wycombe, by his will made in 1290, charged three houses with three shillings annually for the Hospital. William atte Combe in 1354 left the residue of his property to be distributed "for his soul's good, except one . . . which he leaves to the house of St. John the Baptist at Wycombe." ^b

In course of time the Hospital became one of the principal institutions of the borough of Wycombe; as early as 1344 it was in the patronage of the mayor and burgesses of the town.^c Still earlier it might have been associated with the corporation, for it is worthy of remark that Wycombe is a town of great antiquity, its incorporation being ascribed with a degree of certainty to Henry I.

Everything points to the intimate association of the Hospital with the town. The Rye Mead, so important a spot, dedicated from the earliest times to the use of the townsfolk, became an appurtenant, as before mentioned, of the charity; and it is remarkable that one of the principal endowments of the foundation is still known as "the Town Farm."

As I have before said, the inmates of the Hospital were a master and poor brethren and sisters: these were appointed by the burgesses. "In the Master was vested the freehold as tenant for life, who was a clerk in holy orders, and who said daily prayer in the Hospital. The brethren and sisters were appointed on the ground of poverty and sickness, and took vows of chastity and obedience. By a deed dated in 1245 the brethren and sisters were bound to distribute annually at Lady-Day, to the poor asking alms at the Hospital, bread of two quarters of wheat, and to pray for the soul of Adam Walder, and this the burgesses bound themselves to see done." ^d

Among the curious documents relating to this foundation, on the back of a lease granted by Edward Wellesbourne, Master in 1515, has been discovered in much earlier handwriting a copy of a portion of a Bull of Pope Gregory IX. addressed to Grostête Bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of the diocese in which the

^a Dugdale, vol. vi. p. 606.

^b *Wycombe*, p. 140.

^c Collect. cl. Matth. Hutton ex reg. Thomæ Beke Episc. Lincoln, cited by Tanner.

^d *Wycombe*, p. 140.

Hospital was situate, in which the Pope speaks of his "Welbelovyd chyl dren, ye master and ye brethren of the ospetaule of Saint John Baptist of Wycōbe," and as to their having made "supplication mekely." The object of the Bull is not, however, disclosed in the mutilated state of the copy.^a

The early history of Wycombe gives a list of the Masters taken from the records, which furnish imperfect information. We have the names of twenty-one Masters, beginning with Robert +. 1265, and ending with Christopher Chalfont, who resigned in 1553.

On the dissolution of the monasteries, *temp.* Henry VIII., this foundation seems to have been extinguished, the Master having, as a matter of course, surrendered the lands of the Hospital to the Crown. In the subsequent reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary the foundation passed by grants and gifts of the Crown into private hands. It is not, however, my purpose to trace its history onwards, except to remark that it was in the reign of Elizabeth that the mayor and burgesses asserted their ancient rights as its patrons. They in the year 1562 granted the Hospital, with the lands belonging to it, to Queen Elizabeth for the purpose of converting it into a royal grammar school. The Queen immediately afterwards re-granted by her letters patent the Hospital, its lands and revenues, to the mayor and burgesses and their successors for ever, for the support and maintenance of the grammar school and four poor persons; in subsequent years the number of almspeople was increased.

Tanner says: "And though after the Dissolution Queen Mary granted it [the Hospital] to Sir Robert Throgmorton, Queen Elizabeth granted it, anno regni 4, to the corporation, and refounded the Hospital,^b which is yet in being under the government of the mayor, aldermen, and bailiffs."

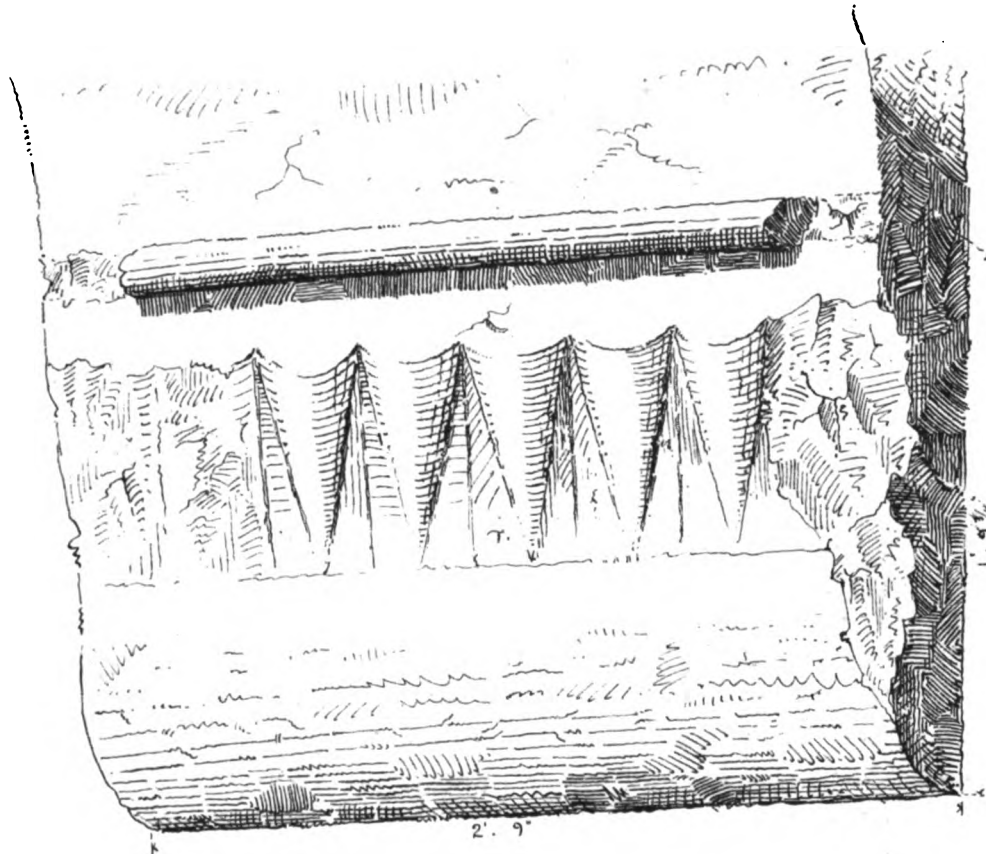
The charity is now under the management of the Governors of the Wycombe Grammar School and Almshouse Foundation, in pursuance of a scheme made by the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, which received the royal approval in 1878.

I now proceed to make a few remarks descriptive of the Hospital buildings as they still exist.

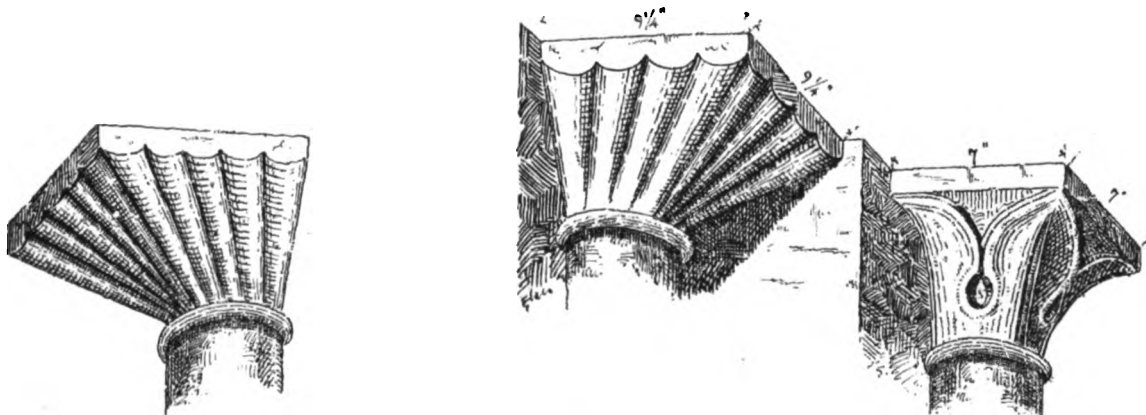
What remains are fragments, and important ones, of the hall and of the chapel. The hall is supposed to have been built in 1175; the Norman pillars and arches are for the most part preserved; the building stands almost north and south, the entrance being at the south. The doorway is still seen in Easton

^a *Wycombe*, p. 141.

^b See *Not. Parl.* above referred to.



CORBEL AT F. see Small Scale Plan.



CAPS AT ENTRANCE. G. see Small Scale Plan.

G. C. Richardson, A.R.I.B.A.

C.F. Hall, Lith.

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Street, the only remains of which are four small transitional Norman capitals, discovered some years since on the plaster being removed; the shafts to these capitals have been restored. The length of the hall by recent measurement is found to be 59 feet 6 inches, the nave from pillar to pillar is 18 feet 3 inches wide, and the aisles were 6 feet 6 inches in width.

There were originally three pillars on each side of the nave, alternately round and octagonal, supporting four plain semi-circular arches 13 feet in diameter, the two outer ones at each end resting upon brackets or capitals, built up in the north and south walls. Of the six pillars four remain; they are about 2 feet in diameter, $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, including the capitals, which are ornamented with sculptured foliage and shells, and on one of them is a dragon, which has unfortunately lost its head.

It will perhaps make the description of the present condition of this hall simpler if I show what is its state, first on the east and then on the west side. Beginning from the south end of the east side of the building, the first arch and pillar are completely gone; three parts of the next arch and the next pillar, which is octagonal, are preserved; the next arch and a circular pillar remain; the remaining arch, from the circular pillar to the capital built in the wall, is also preserved. A portion of the east aisle exists, and of the original eastern outer wall. The outer north wall of the nave and of the east aisle remains. The west aisle has entirely disappeared.

I now describe the condition of the building from the west side, beginning, as before, from the south. The first arch has gone, the first pillar is concealed in a closet, the next arch and pillar are to be seen on ascending the modern staircase, the next pillar has been taken away, but the capital remains, supported by an outside wall. The two remaining arches have been bricked up, but they are traceable from the outside of the present building, and the capital built into the north wall is also visible. In the north wall of the nave is an oven, which has all the appearance, from its construction, of being coeval with the building. There is nothing left of the original windows of the hall, so far as one can at present discover.

Bearing in mind the interest which attaches to a building of so early a date as this Norman hall, used for secular purposes, still partially standing, I have given as complete an account as possible of the remains as they now appear. I have only to make a few remarks with reference to the chapel of the Hospital. It stood on the southern part of the east side of the hall, opening into the hall; the length of the chapel was 27 feet 6 inches. All that is left of this building is

the north wall, and possibly portions of the roof remain; the chapel is of later date than the hall; there is an Early English lancet window in the centre of the remaining wall, and a Decorated window to the east of it; to the west of it another Decorated window has, in recent years, been introduced, corresponding with the window of that style originally inserted, in the place of a door which formerly led into the Hospital grounds.

The accompanying illustrations, for which I am indebted to Mr. G. Canning Richardson, give the plan of the Hospital; a section showing the Norman arches at the east side of the nave; the capital to the pillar in the kitchen of the head-master, showing its entire design; the capital to the pillar in the pantry; the capitals to the arch over the entrance doorway; a corbel in the pantry; the capital in the wall by the staircase shown on the ground-plan; and the external and internal elevations of the Early-English and the Decorated windows in the chapel.

I think it right to explain that the original intention of the governors of the foundation was to restore the Norman hall as the school-room, and the chapel as a class-room, in connection with the grammar school, and plans for carrying out the restoration were prepared; the scheme however was abandoned on account of its not receiving the sanction of the Charity Commissioners, on financial grounds. The governors, after having had to abandon another proposal for erecting the school buildings on an entirely new position, eventually fell back upon the orchard at the back of the present building, on the site of which the schools are to be erected. They are anxious to preserve the Norman remains *in situ*, after pulling down the modern buildings which surround them.

[Soon after this communication was read, the modern buildings were removed, and the remains of the hall and chapel, carefully preserved, were thrown open to view from Easton Street.—J. P.]

XIV.—*On the Meaning and Origin of the Fylfot and Swastika.* By ROBERT PHILIPS GREG, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., &c.

Read March 23rd, 1882.

PART I.—THE WESTERN FYLFOT.

IN a Paper read before this Society, 15 May, 1879, printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVII. pp. 157—160, on “The Fret or Key Ornamentation in Mexico and Peru,” I showed that this form or symbol was there without doubt emblematic of *water*, and probably adopted independently of Western or Old World influence; and at the conclusion of the Paper I threw out a hint that the *fylfot* or *swastika* was an old Aryan symbol, connected with the older sky or air-gods, as represented by Indra and Jupiter *Tonans* and *Pluvius*, and not found in the New World. Since then I have gone very fully into a further investigation as to the general history and meaning of that ancient and mystic symbol; and believe I have arrived at a satisfactory solution of a question which has long been a puzzle to mythologists and antiquaries; but one which—in spite of the later labours and discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, Bernouf, Max Müller, of Ludvig Müller of Copenhagen, and most recently of Mr. Edward Thomas, the eminent numismatist—I believe, with Fergusson (*Tree and Serpent Worship*), has not yet been fully solved. The chief theories, or those most worthy of being considered respecting this peculiar kind of cross (*croix-gammée*), are the following:—

First.—That it was a purely *solar* device, indicative of *gyratory*, or whirling motion. This theory is based chiefly on the circumstance that it sometimes occurs on certain coins (found, however, on a very limited area) in connection either with the *solar* disc or with the three-legged and three-pronged, or three-footed, devices called the *triquetra* and *triskele*. (See figs. 4, Pl. XX. and 24, Pl. XIX.) Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller lay great stress on this. The former writer, who considers it as symbolizing the sun in motion, and as merely a cross with revolving feet, certainly goes too far, as I shall attempt to show further on,

in making it simply an emblem of the sun itself, or of Apollo, its Olympic representative. Ludvig Müller, while referring it very certainly as standing for an emblem of the "supreme Aryan god or divinity" (and so far I am in accordance with him), yet would explain the origin of the emblem as a mere figure or device also to the *triskele*, which he looks upon as an ancient Aryan and Asiatic device (though in this I do not agree with him), standing for the sun; and that the "supreme god," for which the emblem stood, though to a certain extent accepted by the Aryans in a spiritual sense, sometime or other must have been the sun itself, and have had attached to it *solar* attributes; and that the intended rotatory motion implied by the *triskele* (from which the *fylfot*) meant "the circular movement of the world," equivalent to the actual "course of the sun in the sky," rather than to the actual disc of the sun itself; at least this is the construction I put on Ludvig Müller's words.* (See note ^b, p. 303).

I hope to show that the "supreme deity" that Ludvig Müller refers to is no other than Dyaus, or Zeus and Jupiter, the great sky and air god, they, the Aryans, not being worshippers of the sun in the proper sense of the term; nor was there occasion to represent the emblem of this their great sky and air god as having a *rotatory* movement; they had the circle, to represent the disc of the sun, and to which they could attach as many rays, straight or curved, as their fancy dictated. The air or sky is *fixed* and does not move, but the sun's orb it is which traverses, or "courses with swift feet and revolving wheel." It is also a questionable matter whether the terminal spurs or feet of the *fylfot-cross* were ever intended to be curved, or to form part of the circumference of the wheel or circle indicative of the solar disc; and whether the *fylfot-cross*, as I shall try to show, may not have more probably naturally arisen from the resemblance to the forked-lightning exhibited by the two component **Z**, of which this cross is essentially composed.

Secondly.—That it was merely a variety of the ordinary cross or *tau*. This view has had an advocate in the writer of an interesting article in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1870, entitled "The Pre-Christian Cross." This writer appears rather to have confused the different kinds of crosses, and gives no very definite or satisfactory solution to the meaning and origin of the *fylfot* itself; the cross with this writer being sometimes a sign for water, or for the four rivers of Paradise, or for the four quarters of the earth; in Egypt the cross = Thoth, that

* See Appendix II. for a fuller account of Müller's paper.

smote the head of the great serpent; as the *cruz-ansata** it was the original *tau*, or "hidden wisdom," and "life to come"; as the *swastika* it was an ancient Buddhist symbol; a symbol of rain with the South American Indians. The Maltese cross primarily signified the four great gods of Assyria—Ra, Ana, Belus, and Hea; the Samaritan letter *tau* was the battle-axe of the Scandinavian Thor, (the northern Hercules); in India and Egypt the cross was associated with the idea of the sacred water of the Ganges and Nile (Canopus?); and was likewise associated with trees and even with the human form, &c. &c.

For myself I much doubt, and most other authorities will agree with me, whether the *Semitic tau* had any connection whatever with the *fylfot* and *swastika*. At a later time the cross may have had occasional reference to the spokes of the solar wheel; or when drawn within the circle (as in fig. 13, Pl. XX.) it may have had a *phallic* significance.

The cross in its simplest form + must necessarily, from its very simplicity and antagonism to the simple circle O, have been not only a very ancient device but one capable of being used to express very various ideas; it would therefore be almost useless to guess at its earliest or special meaning.

Thirdly.—The *fylfot*, and especially the *swastika* of India, have (though doubtless they are identical) been frequently and popularly connected with the idea of *fire*, and as a symbol of the god Agni. Bernouf is quoted by Dr. Schliemann as the chief exponent of this theory, which, as far as the *swastika* is concerned, would make that symbol have its origin in the firechurn or chark, and to be identical in fact with the "mystic double Arani," mentioned in one of the Vedic hymns to the fire-god Agni.


I shall allude more particularly further on to this question, and also see foot-note.^b Of the great importance of fire amongst the early Aryans there can be no question; it was even by them considered as of greater importance than

* The *cruz-ansata*, or *tau*, has never been satisfactorily explained; it is called *ankh* in Egyptian, and is generally supposed to mean "eternal life," and is often given as one of the chief symbols of royalty or divinity. There need be nothing *phallic* about it as far back as the third dynasty, nearly 4000 B.C., where it first appears. The loop or oval may have originally meant life or eternity; and the cross intended to mean extension in length and breadth, i.e., infinity to space, or possibly the tree of life, or the sun rising above the horizon.

^b For some observations on the *fylfot* and cross, and on the importance of the Aryan *hearth-fire*, see articles in *Frazer's Magazine*, January 1881, and June 1879, by Mr. A. J. Evans and Karl Blind; also an article by Steinthal, in *The Mythology of the Hebrew Nations*, by Goldzihar, on the fire-chark and on fire-gods. Mr. Evans says, "In Caithness the need-fire is kindled by the ancient process of friction." . . . "The yule fire was connected also with the need-fire." . . . "In the Vedas, again, the *fire* appears as the

the sun itself. The old "Arani" of the Vedas, the soi-disant *swastika*, consisted, however, of only two pieces of wood, one the lower or flat piece, and the upper or upright piece or drill worked with a cord, or *pramantha*, as it was called, of a harder kind of wood, and by the Greeks called *σραυρός* (and whence the Christian cross!) The connection between the *swastika* and the fire-churn or arana appears to be a myth; and if any such double-cross fire-churns are to be found, as some assert, in existing temples in India, they must have been purposely made of that shape (*i.e.* consisting of two pieces below, and a *third* piece of wood or upright stick above), to imitate the sacred *swastika* itself as a holy Buddhist symbol. (See E. B. Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, on the fire-churn in India, p. 257.) Independently, however, of this matter of the arana and fire-churn, there are good reasons for supposing that both fire as well as water, as the two great purifying elements, have sometimes been associated with the *swastika*, if not with the *fylfot* also. I believe that this may best be explained when we consider this symbol as the emblem of Indra and Zeus, who as gods of the sky and air controlled the thunderbolt and the rain, and across whose expanse or vault the sun and stars, as fiery lights, were seen to move.

The four so-called *nail-heads* (fig. 26, Pl. XIX.), sometimes found with the *swastika* and *fylfot*, were no doubt intended for stars or little fires, and may sometimes lend more of a *solar* idea to that symbol than originally intended; for the sky and air or atmosphere, though containing the sun and stars in a manner,

first man, and forefather of the human race. The family-hearth or tombstone is connected with the ancestral fire and spirits of the fathers of the household." . . . "Not only our Aryan family alone, but many others, were intimately connected with the worship of the fire of the hearth." . . . "The descent of fire to earth from the thunder-cloud was dramatized by myth; as were also in the Vedas the sun and the storm." Karl Blind says, "The hammer of Thor (T) had the shape of one of the numerous forms of the Christian cross; early pre-Christian runic crosses are found. Thor was a storm-god who smote the giant Frost. In Iceland another form of Thor's hammer is found in the shape of , and till quite lately was used as a magic sign. In reality it is the old well-known Aryan symbol for need-fire, and fabled to have been made by Agni, the divine carpenter." . . . "It may also be considered as a tree-shaped cross: Odin hung on a tree-shaped cross, or perhaps on a tree only. This may have been connected with the Indian sacred tree (*soma*?) ; partly from the Pleiades, partly from the form of the *tau*, and possibly from the out-stretched human form." Mr. Walter Kelly, in his *European Folk-Lore*, has many interesting observations connected with fire, the fire-churn, and fire-gods. He considers the divining-rod (*ash*) as springing from the god of lightning, and that it became the *palasa* tree (p. 159). The ash-tree was sacred to Thor. The wish-rod is probably the equivalent of the divining-rod, and of the *caduceus* of Hermes, who is sometimes a fire-god or messenger. The Greeks used the thorn-tree for their frictional *σφειρα*; and not unlikely the *pramantha* itself, or upright fire-stick used in drilling, was the ancestor of the *caduceus* and of the myth of Prometheus; some attach a *phallic* meaning to it.

did not control them, as Indra might be said to do, as regards the rain and clouds and lightning.* (See also figs. 12, 31, and 32, Pl. XIX.)

Fourthly.—Some have considered the *fylfot* as not unfrequently meant to symbolise water. (See Waring's *Ancient Ceramic Art*, pp. 16, 82, and 83.) Taken as I have just said in connection with the rain-god Indra, and with Jupiter *Pluvius* his western representative, this idea may have some value attached to it, as likewise with the sun and with fire, but does not offer a solution sufficiently wide to explain all the difficulties and bearings of the case. Water was one of the great *purifying* elements, and was by some of the ancients considered as the source or beginning of everything. The earlier forms of the Greek key-pattern were undoubtedly representative of the waves of rippling water, and was a water-symbol probably; and it is not a little curious and rather here to the point that the *fylfot* itself was not unfrequently found in actual combination with the key-pattern (see figs. 20, 26a, 29, 30, and 31, Pl. XX.), and as though the two more or less had the same significance. (See also Pl. XXI.)

Fifthly.—That it was the special emblem of the old sky- or air-god Dyaus, who became the Indra of the Indians in the Vedic time, and subsequently the Zeus of the Pelasgians and Greeks, the Jupiter *Tonans* and *Pluvius* of the Latins, and the Thor of the North Western Aryans, the Teutons and Scandinavians. This is the solution to which I myself hold, and consider to be as completely proved as the case will admit of. This idea is one among several others mentioned particularly by Waring, pp. 12, 15, 90, and 91, in his *Ancient Ceramic Art*. It is also powerfully advocated by Ludvig Müller, as I have already stated, who considers it to be emblematic of the *supreme god of the Aryans*, but does not specify the divinity or its connection with the air; and his further explanation of the symbol inclines to a solar interpretation.^b

* It is curious that the *swastika* was not found as a symbol among the followers of Zoroaster, or on the coins of the Sassanian kings 300—500 A.D. on which the fire-altar is so conspicuous a feature. This is against the idea of the symbol having been used for a fire-emblem at an early period.

^b Prof. Monier Williams in his *Indian Wisdom*, p. 12, says, in reference to the older Vedic conception of the idea of a self-existent, omnipresent supreme being, that it was very clearly defined in the time of Manu (700 B.C.), "Him some adore as transcendently present in fire; others in Manu, lord of creatures; some as more distinctly present in Indra, others in pure air, others as the most high eternal spirit." . . . "Subsequently this became Brahṁā; which again when it manifested an actual existence was called Brahṁā; developed in the world, it was called Vishnu; and when dissolved again into its simple being was called Siva." The older and simpler worship appears to have been better preserved by the Western Aryans, and among the Pelasgians, than among the Hindoos; where the original Dyaus was continued in Zeus; and before the Olympian system of divinities was fully established.

I shall now proceed to point out the bearings of the argument in favour of the derivation of this symbol rather from Dyaus, Zeus, and Indra than as from Surya or Helios as the sun-god, as well as to certain other points as to how, through the lightning or through its possible connections with Agni and fire, it may subsequently have sometimes received a *solar* significance.

I will commence with the western development of the symbol before entering on the *swastika* as its counterpart in the East; for it will more readily be admitted that the Scandinavian god Thor was the deity most nearly allied to the Greek Zeus, the Latin Jupiter being the god of thunder especially, and his usual emblem was the double-hammer and *crux Gothica* or *fylfot*.^a We constantly meet with this symbol on Scandinavian, Danish, and North-German pottery, gold and bronze work from five hundred to fifteen hundred years ago or more; and even on Anglo-Saxon antiquities. There is no valid reason for supposing this symbol to have here been obtained either through Roman or Christian sources; it came more probably either as the old hereditary emblem of the sky and lightning god, handed down by their earlier Aryan ancestors from the East; or it may have been brought or borrowed from the Greeks B.C. 400; at the time when, according to the Rev. Isaac Taylor, the *runic* alphabet may have been introduced from Thrace or from the Pelasgians. In any case we have here a very likely key to the original meaning and earlier use of the *fylfot* as representing the air- and thunder-god Thor as a direct descendant of the earlier Dyaus and Zeus.^b

The usual emblems of Thor and Odin appear in fig. 33, Pl. XIX. along with other old Scandinavian devices, as shown in figs. 31 and 32. With fig. 32, according

^a According to Ludvig Müller the *fylfot* was not identical with Thor's hammer, which was a **T**. But in any case the *fylfot* symbol was constantly used in North Germany in connection with Thor. The **T** is exceedingly rare, according to Waring, as a Scandinavian symbol. I myself have hardly ever come across it. It may, however, be sometimes figured as a **Y**, or *triskele*.


^b According to Waring (*Ceramic Art*, p. 15), the best derivation of the word *fylfot* might be from "*fiol*," an old Norse word = *viel* in German and *full* in English; and "*fo*," foot, or the many-footed, which is no inapt symbol for the sky-god Thor, the lord of thunder and lightning. Pindar, in his ode to Psamis, a victor in the chariot-race of the Olympian games B.C. 452, addresses Zeus or Jupiter thus: "O thou mightiest hurler of the thunder, unwearied of *foot*." In some instances the cross terminates in a kind of foot, as in the three-legged and three-footed cognate symbols seen on Macedonian, Sicilian, and Lycian coins, and might belong almost as well to Zeus or Jupiter as to the sun, as solar-like devices. In Western Germany, Odin or Woden was held in more estimation than Thor. Odin and Thor have some attributes probably in common like Dyaus and Varuna; and Odin, besides being sometimes a storm-god, doubtless had solar attributes given to him.

to Waring, are symbols representative of the crescent-moon, the full-moon (or earth?), the air (*fylfot*), fire (a three-armed curved or whirling device similar to the *triquetra*), and the thunderbolt (possibly also intended for Odin or Thor). Fig. 30, Pl. XX. copied from an old Danish *bracteate* (with the head of a warrior with a raven not given in the fig.), shows the *fylfot* as the air-god just above a zig-zag line indicative of water, but there is no solar disc. Fig. 2, Pl. XX. on an urn from Cambridgeshire, shows also a number of devices, *e.g.* triangles, dots for stars, serpents, &c. with three suns below and a curved meander or water-fret above, whilst a single *fylfot* occupies the centre space, very suggestive of the intermediate air or ether, representing here a divinity or element, held in even greater estimation than the sun himself. Ether, air, and fire constituted the chief old-German or Norse *triad*. The group of small figs. No. 7, Pl. XX. shows a series of early and primitive Celtic devices and marks, chiefly from incised stones found in Scotland, and most of them also noticeable in Trojan whorls. They include the *fylfot*, simple cross, circular discs for suns, the ray-pattern, dots or stars, &c. Some antiquaries, however, consider most of the so-called Celtic crosses as connected with the Christian cross, and not pre-Christian. Fig. 27, Pl. XIX. consists of three concentric circles surrounded with dots and with a *fylfot* in the centre, which might well stand here for a solar symbol, but equally well either for the supreme god surrounded with solar glory, or for the sky in which the sun itself is placed. This figure occurs on the so-called Annam Stone in Scotland, and may be half Pagan and half Christian.

Coming now further East, and much earlier in time, say 1000—1500 B.C., let us next consider the *fylfot* as represented in the celebrated Trojan terra-cotta whorls and described by Dr. Schliemann in his *Troy and Ilium*. I have selected some fifteen or sixteen of these whorls and balls,* as figured by him, and

* It has been lately argued that these *whorls* from Hissarlik, of which Dr. Schliemann states he dug some 18,000 out of the *débris* of the five buried cities he describes, were *ex votos*, and not spinning-whorls, as elsewhere found and usually considered to be. This opinion is now shared in by Dr. Schliemann himself, I believe, as well by Mr. Edward Thomas, and it is chiefly based upon the excessive numbers of them found, as well as upon the fact that a certain number of them are not perforated at all, and would appear to have astronomical designs inscribed upon them. In the latter case, certainly, they could not have been used as spinning-whorls. But, as for the argument based on their great number, I do not see its force at all. Formed in the *débris* of no less than four or five successive cities, the third of which must have been destroyed not earlier than 1200 B.C. and covering in all a space of at least 1500 years, that would not give an average of more than ten or twelve *per annum*, distributable over not less at all events than several hundred houses, supposed by Dr. Schliemann to have consisted each of two or three or more stories or

first let us take fig. 1, Pl. XIX. Here we have a well-marked solar disc with rays at the top, with the *fylfot* again in the open space in the middle, very suggestive of the sky- or air-god, and having a horizontal and wavy line below, evidently intended for water, close above which again and nearly vertical to it are a number of parallel straight lines, which might well be taken to indicate rain, as they are not directed towards the solar disc at top; and there are likewise a few dots for stars, scattered about, as it might be in the vault of the sky on either side of the terra-cotta ball. In fig. 2 we see a number of *fylfots* above and contiguous to the two horizontal zig-zag lines representing water, along with some rude attempts at animals, possibly having a solar character on the other side of those lines. In fig. 8, likewise representing a solid terra-cotta ball divided into segments con-

households. To most archaeologists I believe the greater part of these objects would, found anywhere else, simply appear ordinary spindle-whorls, a little more ornamented possibly, and very little better made; certainly by no means so good as those from ancient Mexico and from the early Bolognese Etruscan tombs, both of which frequently have the key-pattern. As a rule *ex votos* in clay are rude representations of the gods, animals, men and women, or parts of the human body. The clay tablets mentioned by Mr. Edward Thomas (p. 42), I think from Northern India, and with prayers inscribed upon them, can hardly be classed with these Trojan, whorls or with the rude baked-clay idols found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ. Similar, though rather smaller, whorls are mentioned by Mr. George Dennis in his recent work on *The Buried Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. ii. p. 515. He says, "Many pear-shaped and ornamented clay-whorls, pierced vertically, were found in the early Etruscan tombs near Bologna. Count Gozzadini takes them to be little weights attached to the funeral garments to make them hang properly." Mr. A. J. Evans suggests, in a paper in *Frazer's Magazine*, p. 357 (1880), in connection with the old fire-drill or *pramantha*, that these spinning-whorls may have been used as fly-wheels fastened on to the wooden spindle itself, in order to insure greater efficiency in steadiness and velocity; as such it is still used by the Iroquois Indians and Polynesians. With this opinion of Mr. Evans I am quite inclined to agree to a certain extent; and it will help us to account for the number found at Troy, without going out of one's way to account for them as being *ex votos*, as well as for the tendency on them to exhibit solar and whirling devices. That the early Greeks and Aryans produced fire by the friction of two pieces of wood and worked by a drill, according to E. B. Tylor, is well known; and the myth of Prometheus is said to be connected with it. In reference to this part of the subject, reference may here be made to the curious leaden idol of a female figure with ram's-horns, found by Dr. Schliemann in the Trojan strata (see *Ilium*, p. 337). A rude triangle (fig. 37, Pl. XIX.), intended for the *vulva*, has depicted on it a single *fylfot*! Whether this was intended to represent the *solar* as a reproductive energy, or was here merely used as an auspicious sign, it is not easy now to determine. Might not, however, the  here used have some possible reference to the production of fire by friction? If the western *fylfot* ever did represent the element of fire, this would be a not unlikely solution in the present case. Nor would it even then be altogether inconsistent with the Zeus, or "supreme deity" theory, inasmuch as there is some connection between fire and lightning, as the favourite weapon of Zeus and Indra. (See Addendum, p. 326, on spindle-whorls.)

taining a number of dots or stars, on one hemisphere is given a single *fylfot*, very suggestive again of the sky- or air-god, or possibly of lightning; on the other side a rude *soma*- (or sacred ?) tree (fig. 8a), the juice of which was sacred to Indra, the correlative of Zeus and Jupiter. The Vedic hymn to Indra, as given by Monier Williams in his *Indian Wisdom*, says (p. 17) :

Indra, twin brother of the god of fire,
When thou wast born, thy mother Adyti
Gave thee, her lusty child, the thrilling draught
Of mountain-growing *soma*, source of life, and——

Two other very interesting examples, as showing both the importance of the *fylfot* as a symbol in giving to it the chief or central place, as well as from its occupying a central or intermediate position as regards the sun and earth, are seen in figs. 18 and 18a, Pl. XX. and given by Ludvig Müller, representing the one a bronze *fibula* from Cære in Etruria, and the latter, one from Bœotia; in fig. 18, two *fylfots* in the centre, with two squares for the earth below, and a large central solar disc above, curiously and almost uniquely armed with teeth or hooked-feet like those of the *fylfots* below. Surely every symbol that appears in connexion with the solar disc on these Trojan whorls and Etruscan and other ornaments need not necessarily have all a solar significance! But this is an argument or an idea much pressed by those who believe that the sun is at the bottom of every myth and of every doubtful symbol! Why should the sky- and air-god as the supreme Zeus or Dyaus and the rain-giving Indra have had no special symbol in ancient times as well as the sun? and what more likely one, as far as our argument thus far goes, than the *fylfot*?

Curved crosses, &c., like figs. 12 and 13, Pl. XIX. and figs. 4, 24, 33, 34, and 6a, Pl. XX. may or may not be connected with the true *fylfot*, though they would appear to have some reference to the sun or to solar revolution. The difficulty is to decide if the real *fylfot*, rectangularly drawn, was ever intended to indicate a whirling motion or not. That we should not unfrequently see the proper emblems of the two great nature-gods or divinities, viz., those standing for the sun and for the sky or air, and lightning together, is only natural; yet it must not be forgotten whilst investigating these questions that Zeus and Indra were quite distinct from Helios and Apollo.

In figs. 9, 14, 18, 21, and 36, Pl. XIX. we see more exactly the zig-zag signs no doubt intended for the lightning. The ray symbols, in figs. 16, 34, Pl. XIX. and 7, 26, 28, and 30, Pl. XX. are in general considered to be representative of fire.

In fig. 4, Pl. XIX. we see three flaming altars, as I believe Dr. Schliemann correctly calls them, along with three *fylfots*, suggestive either of two distinct varieties of fire, viz., the hearth (or perhaps the sacred fire) and the lightning, or of the sacred fire of the altar in connection with the *fylfot* as the emblem of the supreme god Zeus. In fig. 5 we see three solar discs, alternating with three *fylfots*, emblematic of or standing possibly for Zeus and Helios, the two as great sky-gods in juxta-position with each other.

In connection with these Trojan whorls, I may here refer to figs. 22, 23, and 25, Pl. XIX. Fig. 22, showing an old Indo-Scythic coin of about 200—300 B.C. on which the *swastika* is placed also intermediate as it were betwixt heaven and earth; Vishnu as the solar-rayed disc on the top left hand corner, and several animals, one a bull especially sacred to Indra beneath, with the *swastika* touching it, going far to prove the intimate connection probably existing between this symbol and Indra, as the air- and rain-god; on the right hand are two symbols appertaining to Siva and Brahma.* At that time the god Agni was rapidly declining in importance in India, and there is no reason for supposing that he was here intended to be represented by the *swastika*.

At that time Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva constituted the great Hindoo trinity, and Indra was still a god of national importance. Similar devices occur on many other Indian coins, as also on the so-called sacred feet of Buddha. (See Appendix I. on Indian mythology.)

Nearly contemporaneous with the Trojan whorls of the third city is the *fylfot* ornamentation found on the gold-coated and embossed wooden buttons, found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, and described in his book, p. 260 *et seq.* Fig. 24, Pl. XX. may be given as the earliest and simplest type, dating about 1200 B.C. It will here be noticed that the spurs or feet are curved, giving a rather wheel-like or solar character to the ornament. Too much stress need not however be

* Though the bull in ancient times was sometimes associated with solar attributes, and stands as one of the zodiacal signs or stations of the sun, yet in connection with Indra and Jupiter and the myth of Europe it is clearly closely connected with the sky-gods Zeus and Indra. The Rev. G. W. Cox, in his *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. i. p. 437, says: "The story of Europe brings before us the dawn, not as fleeing from the pursuit of the sun, but as borne across the heaven by the lord of the pure ether. Zeus here, like Indra himself, assumes the form of a bull." Under the name of "the Wanderer," Zeus and Indra as sky-gods have not unfrequently assumed a solar character. These myths, and the way in which the function or qualities of one god, or triad of gods, changes or tends to run into those of another, are very perplexing, and must, especially in reference to the sky- and sun-gods and elements, be carefully followed, as far as they have any possible reference to the history and origin of the *fylfot* and *swastika* emblems in connection with solar qualities or the fire-god Agni.

laid on this circumstance in proof of the solar origin of the *fylfot*, for in the case of embossed metal-work the artificers would very naturally have so made it, to say nothing of its being curved to fill in the small circuit of the space allowed by the dimensions of an object like a button; on some of these buttons the ornamentation shows serpents twisted together, and so contrived as best to fill in the space allowable. On the earliest Mycenæ pottery, however, about 650 B.C., and also discovered *in situ* by Dr. Schliemann, the usual square form of the *fylfot*, like that found also on the archaic pottery of Attica and of Rhodes, occurs, and in conjunction with the key- or water-pattern, and with the solar disc (see figs. 34, Pl. XIX. and 26, 26a, Pl. XX.), and in the latter case in the open space between the solar disc and the meander; as also more emphatically so in fig. 18a, Pl. XX. on the *fibula* from Bœotia before referred to, where a fish is supposed to furnish the water-symbol.

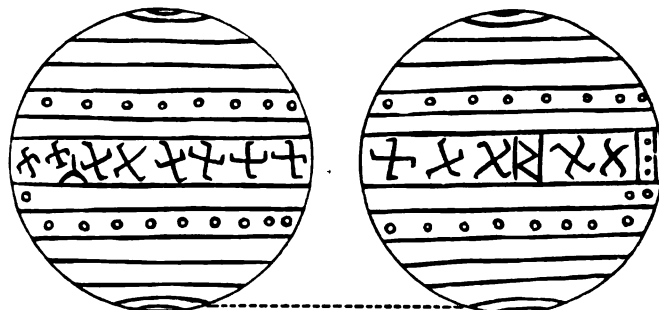
Figs. 19, 20, and 24, Pl. XIX. and 3, 4, 6, 6a, and 6b, Pl. XX. represent typical illustrations of designs on Lycian and Macedonian coins, some of which are fully and specially described by Mr. Edward Thomas and Mr. Percy Gardner in their papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Part I. 1880, on the *swastika*, and on solar symbols connected with Ares as a sun-god. These are shown by them to be in all probability *solar* or whirling devices; but I fail to see that many of them are necessarily derived from the *fylfot* or the *fylfot* from them.^a The three-rayed or pronged device, usually called the *triquetra*, fig. 4, Pl. XX. occurs very similarly, also with two, four, and even with five arms, figs. 5, 6, 6a, 6b; whilst the true *fylfot* always has four, and the feet or spurs never curved, unless very roughly drawn or under special, perhaps fanciful, conditions. Sir Charles Fellowes considered the *triquetra* may have represented a grappling-iron, a pun on the personal name of Harpagon. Some of the wheel-shaped devices on certain of the early Macedonian coins, Mr. Percy Gardner would rather consider to represent ordinary chariot-wheels.^b

Dr. Schliemann, at p. 188 in his *Troy*, gives a drawing of a very curious

^a Mr. Edward Thomas states that a three-rayed device, or *triskele*, probably a solar or fire emblem, occurs on some of the Trojan whorls figured by Dr. Schliemann. I have carefully examined these figures, but fail to find one. There is among the Cypriote characters or syllables, in General Cesnola's work, however, a character similar to Y. The Scandinavian *triskele*, fig. 32, Pl. XIX. refers to fire.

^b According to Mr. R. Brown, F.S.A. the *triquetra*, as shown in the Lycian coins, and in the three-legged devices referred to in the text, can clearly be referred to the crescent-moon of the Assyrian cult, thrice repeated. If so, the *triquetra* cannot possibly either be derived from the *fylfot* or the *fylfot* from the *triquetra*; neither could it even be a solar emblem (see Mr. Brown's very ingenious, learned, and curious dissertation on the "Unicorn," as having a lunar origin and character, published by Longman and Co. 1881). I had not seen this interesting paper until after my present paper had been concluded. The

quasi astronomical-looking terra-cotta ball, found at a depth of eight metres in the third or Trojan city. In all, there would appear to be thirteen rather roughly-drawn *fylfots*, surrounding the equatorial region or centre of the ball;



TERRA-COTTA BALL FOUND AT TROY.^b

and these are drawn right or left-flanged, without any apparent reason or cause.* Dr. Schliemann suggests, very naturally, that the two rows of dots, parallel to the torrid zone, may represent the inhabited regions of the temperate zones according to the oriental theory of

Plato; whilst of course the central row of *fylfots* unmistakably signify symbols of fire, the torrid zone! Surely it would be most improbable that the rude potters, or even geographers of that early period, B.C. 1300, living in a small territory in north lat. 40°, knew of the existence of a torrid zone, or of equatorial regions; they did not then know the earth was even round (see Mr. Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*); and what could they know of the colures of latitude as drawn on our modern terrestrial globe? A more reasonable explanation would appear to be that the round vault of heaven was intended to be represented. The conventional rows of dots might indicate stars or planets, and the continuous row of *fylfots* to stand in honour of the sky-god Zeus himself as the supreme god. If the sun were however intended to have been symbolized by the *fylfots*, why should not a series of plain circles have been inscribed? or even if the sun revolving on its axis across the vault of the sky, why were not the *fylfots* in that case all spurred or flanged in one and the same direction instead of promiscuously so?

form of the moon repeated three times, Mr. Brown of course refers to the three phases of the moon. It also has reference to the three-legged lunar ass, with one horn, mentioned in the Pehlevi work called the *Bundahis*, of the times of the Sassanian dynasties. Some of the Lycian coins, described in Sir Charles Fellows's work, show the *triquetra* with arms, completely crescent in shape—in fact three semi-lunes, springing out of a small central disc. (See figs. 24 and 39, Pl. XIX., and fig. 4, Pl. XX.)

* The single zig-zag line in the centre of the medial zone may be intended to represent lightning (the thunder-bolt of Zeus), or, as Prof. Sayce thinks possible, it might stand for the letter *ki* in the Cypriote language (see *Ilium*, p. 349). But at p. 695 it is remarked by Prof. Sayce, in an article on the inscriptions found at Hissarlik by Dr. Schliemann, that an almost identical character is the Cypriote *ve*, which appears (curiously) at Paphos as Z. According to Bernouf, the three dots vertically placed may represent "royal majesty," a term here quite applicable if the *fylfots* are supposed to stand for Zeus.

^b The Society is indebted for this figure to the courtesy of John Murray, Esq., F.S.A.

Very interesting examples of the *fylfot* in combination with other devices, often of a solar character, are seen to occur in the very archaic Greek pottery preceding the later and more Etruscan style of art; and of which excellent specimens from Camirus in Rhodes are to be seen in the British Museum, and of which I append a few examples as seen in figs. 1, 15, and 17, Pl. XX. Here the *fylfot* occurs associated with solar and also other emblems (one or two of which probably symbolize the earth); and it usually occurs in the open spaces between or above and below the solar discs, and here again this device may very fairly be taken as emblematic of the air or of the sky-god, or possibly of the lightning. Fig. 8, Pl. XX. represents a jug from Cyprus, with a *fylfot* also in the space above a goose (a solar bird), and a four-rayed cross denoting the sun or earth. Major di Cesnola, Prof. Sayce informs me, once drew his attention to the *swastikas* on some of the Cyprian pottery having the form of a bird in flight, thus corroborating the idea, that that symbol being an emblem of the sky- and air-god, it is possible that the "solar goose," so often found along with the *fylfot* and solar disc, may as an aquatic bird have sometimes been figured as much in honour of the air- and rain-god as of the sun. About 500—600 B.C. the *fylfot* curiously enough begins to disappear as a favourite device of early Greek art,* and is rarely if ever seen on the regular Etruscan vase; whilst the meander, or Greek-fret ornament, would seem to take its place, and may have suggested or been in some way connected with it.

This is suggestive of the *fylfot* being sometimes a rain or water-symbol, the meander or key-pattern having at first been connected with the idea of running or rippling water and waves. I believe Mr. Newton, of the British Museum, also takes this view.

That the key-pattern may have had some connection with the *fylfot* is not at all improbable; and it may not unfrequently be seen in combination, as it were, with that device, as in figs. 17, Pl. XIX. and 20, 26, 29, and 30, Pl. XX. Fig. 23, Pl. XX. from Mexico, shows likewise the *zigzag* standing for lightning in conjunction with the key- or water-symbol. These illustrations are far more favourable to the *fylfot* being emblematic of the air or sky or rain than of the sun. Fig. 34, Pl. XIX. shows very clearly the double conventional horizontal *zigzag* lines for water, *rays* or the herring-bone pattern for fire, and a cross and dots for the sun.

* Possibly owing to the diminished respect and veneration paid to Zeus, as the grand old Aryan bright air or sky-god Dyaus, and to the increased Apollo-worship in some parts of the Greek empire and Greek colonies, and extension of the numbers and importance of the other gods on Mount Olympus.

On the theory that the *fylfot* represented Zeus, as the air- and sky-god (the later Jupiter *Tonans* and Jupiter *Pluvius*), it is easy to see it might also have been employed by the Greeks as an emblem of their favourite and greatest god. Subsequently to B.C. 500—600, the worship of the elements as such declined, and the idea of more *personal deities* as Apollo, Vulcan, Neptune, with Jupiter (rather than Zeus as Dyaus), localized on an earthly Olympus, tended doubtless to abolish some of the older Aryan symbols and ideas.

Almost the only instance that I am aware of of a precise meaning being found attached to the *fylfot*, has been lately mentioned by Mr. Percy Gardner in his paper on "Ares as a Sun-god" (*Num. Chron.* Part I. 1880), having reference to the ancient city of Mesembria in Thrace, where it is said traces of solar-worship have occurred. He states, "Mesembria, as it stands, is simply the Greek word for *noon*, or mid-day (*μεσημβρία*); and there can be no doubt that the Greek inhabitants would suppose their city to be the place of *noon*; and among the coins of Mesembria occurs MEΣ Ψ;" where evidently the Ψ stands hieroglyphically as a kind of pun, explanatory of the name of the city. This certainly would appear to connect the *fylfot* with the idea of day-light, if not with solar light, but not necessarily with the actual sun itself, or be an argument in favour of the symbol being originally or altogether a solar one, for we must also remember that Dyaus = Zeus and Indra, where the air or sky are ideas consistent with light rather than darkness.^b Prof. Monier Williams, in his translation of a Vedic hymn to Indra, says, "Immortal Indra, unrelenting foe of drought and darkness," &c. It should always be borne in mind that Dyaus, Zeus, and Indra, though probably having some attributes in common with the more solar Varuna, Surya, and Helios, and with Agni more or less common to them all, were at different periods essentially distinct ideas and deities among the early Aryans.

To the later uses and adaptations of the *fylfot* among the Christians, and in the West after the Christian era, there is no occasion for me here to refer, as I wish to trace out and explain rather its earliest and more general meaning and use. It was little used by the Romans and later Greeks,^c but it has been found as a device of the earlier Etruscans in *Magna Græcia*, in Cyprus, and in

^a Mr. Edward Thomas has, however, succeeded, I think, in proving that the *fylfot* or *swastika* decidedly occurs in a solar sense, if not as standing for the solar orb itself, on some coins from Ujjain and Andhra in Southern India.


^b The *Day* itself being derived from the Sanskrit *Dyaus*, or *dyu*, as well as the bright sky.

^c See figs. 28, Pl. XIX. and 16, 18, 18a, and 32, Pl. XX.

some of the older Mediterranean Greek colonies; in Thrace, as well as Europe generally. In India, after A.D. 400, when the worship and greatness of the god Indra began to decay; and in the West, after the Olympic Zeus had left the higher regions of ethereal space and became localized on Mount Olympus, the *fylfot* as a symbol of Zeus, the sky- and air-god, became neglected, and its precise and original meaning to a certain extent lost sight of, and thus it may have come to have been employed either as a solar or a water-symbol, as a fire-symbol, or as a form of the ordinary cross, or as a mystic charm.

In reference to the *fylfot*, then, as an ancient western symbol, I think it may very properly be taken as an ancient and special emblem of the supreme god of the early Aryans, whether as Dyaus, Zeus, Jupiter, or Thor, as sky- or air-god; collaterally or at a subsequent period it may come to have had other meanings attached to it; and more especially, when connected with stars or dots, have had some special reference to fire, in some form or other. As a device, in combination with the solar disc, earth, water, &c., it is frequently found occupying an intermediate position, suggestive of the sky or air; and this is an important point to notice, as a clue to the real interpretation of its meaning. It not unfrequently seems to indicate a more important element of worship or veneration than even the solar disc itself, as in figs. 1, 2, 18a, Pl. XX., and 1, 3, 8, 12, 22, 31, Pl. XIX. The old Aryans were by no means given to sun-worship; and their Dyaus (= Zeus, Jupiter, Thor, and Indra) was the first or supreme god in connection with nature.*

I might in this place offer a suggestion in reference to the Greek word *Zeus*, the sky-god, as to whether the commencing letter Z, *zeta*, might not itself have been derived from the *fylfot* as the special symbol of Zeus? ^b The thunder-bolt

* Mr. R. A. Proctor, F.R.S. the well-known astronomer, says in the *Cornhill Magazine* for December 1881, in reference to the subject of early nature-worship: "I am satisfied that the doctrine of a firmament is one which almost all primitive science recognises, and occupies an important position in the astrological beliefs with which we find it associated, and is in accordance with the minds of children, and with the cosmologies of the North American Indians and South Sea Islanders, who describe their flat earth as arched over by the solid vault of heaven. The Zulu idea is that the blue heaven is a rock encircling the earth, inside of which are the sun, moon and stars, and outside which dwell the people of heaven." The Vedic idea was somewhat similar; Varuna itself meaning originally the solid or covering firmament. It may here be noticed that Dr. Schliemann, in his "Troja," p. 122, states that the *fylfot* has been found in Yucatan and Pueblo in the New World; I should feel strongly inclined, however, to consider its appearance there as only a very possible variety of the *Key-pattern* (see fig. 20 and 23, Pl. XX.), so common in Mexico and Peru. I have never so far been able to find a true example of the  in any work on Mexico, or in any museum; the nearest approach to it resembling fig. 18a, Pl. XIX.

^b On some of the Trojan whorls we sometimes see a single Z, evidently standing for lightning (see fig. 9, Pl. XIX.)

was his favourite weapon, and the ideograph Z might well and naturally stand for the forked lightning. The letter Z first, I believe, appears as a letter of the Attic alphabet of the fifth century B.C.; before that time the sound of Z was usually expressed by *ds* or *ts*; and certainly the word Zeus must have been the most important frequently used word commencing with that particular sound. This is much more probable than that the Greek letter Γ, *gamma*, could have derived from this symbol as the *gammadion*. But I leave this to more experienced antiquaries and etymologists to decide. (See fig. 38, Pl. XIX.)

As regards the actual *fylfot* itself, as a mere sign or device expressing the idea of the supreme being among the early Aryan nations, and standing for their Dyaus or Zeus, there can, I think, be little doubt; the only question of interest left open is whether the device arose in the first instance, and as undoubtedly from the simple cross +, by addition of the terminal feet or spurs, representative of a revolving or advancing motion in connection with the solar idea,—or as a simple and natural mode of expressing figuratively the forked lightning as the principal weapon of the sky- or air-god himself. Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller are the most recent and ablest exponents and believers of the former hypothesis. For myself I am inclined to advocate the latter explanation; for I do not see that we need attach the idea of a whirling motion, or even of advancing movement, to the sky and air; nor are the *triquetra* and *triskele* such very ancient or widespread symbols, though probably employed to represent the lunar or the solar motion. I do not, however, see that those two devices are necessarily either the same as the *fylfot*, or that either the one or the other are mutually derivable. (See note ^b, page 11).

Zeus was especially the great and supreme god of the early Greeks, and in especial favour at Troy: only much later did the worship of Apollo, as in Novum Ilium, Lycia, and Thrace, succeed to his importance; and not until after Zeus had, as it were, left the sky and air, and became localized on earth on the summit of Mount Olympus. After that time the symbol gradually died out, and was only to a slight extent adopted in connection with the later Apollo worship.*

* So very similarly in India, Dyaus gave way to Indra, more especially the rain, lightning, and storm-god, and that again to Vishnu, the later solar representative of Varuna, "the investing sky and the bright firmament." Dyaus and Zeus, as the supreme god of the Aryans, may have subsequently, or by some minor branches of it (that came more under Semitic or Turanian influence), to some extent changed both in name and idea. Ludvig Müller states that among the Lithuanians it is called Perun or Perkun. In Germany, sometimes Thor and sometimes Odin. Among the Gauls, Grannus. In China *Ouan* or *Kuan*, the blue sky, and *tien*, the lord of heaven. Among the Persians, probably Ormuzd. Odin as *Woden* may have some reference to the "Wanderer" in connection with the solar myths.

Mr. Gladstone says in *Juventus Mundi* that "the Zeus of Homer is the Pelasgic Zeus, also worshipped by the Helleni." That he had special preference for Troy; that (p. 227) "he is governor of the air and all its phenomena, in relation to which he commands the thunder, the lightning, the years, and impels the falling star and the thunderbolt."^a

Why, then, should we feel surprised that the *fylfot* is so common a device on the Trojan whorls, of which we have heard so much? or that, since the sun himself shines and moves across the sky, we should see this symbol so frequently inscribed in connection with the sun? or with flaming altars, as connected with the oblations offered to Zeus as the sky-god (not to the sun as Apollo), or with trees, the sacred tree in India, among the Southern Indians, being sacred to Indra, the child of Dyaus?

Looking, then, at the solid whorl, fig. 8, Pl. XIX. where a single *fylfot* stands alone in the centre segment of our hemisphere, surrounded with dots for stars, one can almost read, on its little imitative firmament, the very word Zeus itself!

PART II.—THE SWASTIKA (OR EASTERN FYLFOT).

I SHALL now proceed to consider the *swastika* of India, in connection with its western counterpart, the *fylfot* or *gammadion*. It is derived, according to Prof. Max Müller, from the Sanskrit words *su*, well, and *as*, to be. I shall assume to begin with, what has hardly indeed been denied, that originally they both had a common origin and meaning among the earlier Aryans, before they separated in different directions, south and west; for it is neither found as a Semitic or Turanian symbol, nor in the New World. We cannot actually find it earlier than about 300 B.C., some time after the rise and spread of Buddhism; but as it is generally believed to have been a symbol adopted by the Buddhists, and was especially esteemed a holy symbol among the Jains, a large Buddhist sect, by them doubtless it spread over China and Japan, where it still remains a very favourite ornament and device,—we may fairly assume it

^a It is now known that the Trojans were of Thracian origin. The Hittites, who were not a Semitic race, also employed the *fylfot* symbol. (See Schliemann's *Troja*, pp. 125 and 262.)

existed in India amongst the Southern Aryan branch prior to the time of Buddha. Owing to the shifting and changeful nature of Hindoo mythology, both before and after Buddha's time, it is more difficult to trace the meaning of the symbol in India. It would appear at times to have been used as a sun, as a fire, and even as a water-symbol. This may, in part, be explained when we remember how Indra, the rain- and lightning-god, is called in the old Vedic hymns "twin-brother of the god of fire." . . . "In vain strive to deprive us of thy (Indra) watery treasures." . . . "Earth quakes beneath the crashing of thy bolts," &c. And, as also "the unrelenting foe of drought and darkness," Indra may have had certain qualities in common with Varuna, the "bright and investing firmament," and who, subsequently, developed into Mitra, Surya, Savitar, and Vishnu. Indra is the child or son of Dyaus, and gradually and early took his place, and became more especially the rain-god, where rain was of even more importance than the sun himself. There is no reason to suppose that so great and national a god as Indra had not some symbol or emblem; and there is much in favour to show that his emblem was the *swastika*, no doubt inherited from his father Dyaus, the western Zeus. But whether as the sky-god or as the air-god he would in either case possess and wield the thunderbolt.



In favour, then, of the *swastika* being the emblem of Indra, it may be mentioned that that sign was considered to be an "auspicious sign,"* as also the *fylfot* was sometimes in North Germany. Now, in a dry and hot climate like India, auspiciousness would surely more naturally refer to rain than to the sun! I am aware, however, that Max Müller thinks otherwise, and refers this "auspiciousness to the beneficent sun," which is a suggestion the advocates of the *solar* origin of the symbol do not lose sight of.

Dr. Schliemann mentions in his *Troy*, p. 102, that in the epic of the Ramayana, about B.C. 150, it is stated that the ships of King Rama, on their voyage to Ceylon, bore the *swastika* symbol on their prows—probably as being an "auspicious" sign in connection with, or in honour of, Indra the rain- and air-god.

Another argument in favour of this symbol being sacred to Indra, and which I have already referred to, is the evident connection between that device, as standing for the air or for Indra himself, well shown in figs. 22 and 23, Pl. XIX. where the *bull*, commonly held sacred to Indra, is in close proximity to and even touching the *swastika*; and where the symbol itself, as an air-symbol, is placed below the sun and above the animal!

* See Bernouf and Schliemann.

It is likewise mentioned that the *swastika*, even in modern times, is occasionally used by the natives in sealing up jars of holy water drawn from the Ganges, which is opposed to the solar hypothesis. The *swastika* is supposed to have been introduced into China by the early Buddhists about 200 B.C., and is still, as I have stated, much employed there as a favourite device and ornament.

Dr. Bushell, M.D. a good antiquary, and Chinese scholar on Her Majesty's legation at Peking, informs me that the old meaning of the sign is "thunder-scroll," called *lei wen*, and that it is found in the oldest Chinese bronzes (see fig. 36, Pl. XIX.) This I take it is also another indirect proof of the Indian *swastika* having at a very early time stood as an emblem of Indra as god of the air in connection with the lightning rather than with the sun. As a rule it may be here noticed the Indian *swastika* is almost invariably spurred or flanged to the right hand,  whilst in the more western *fylfot* it is ordinarily spurred to the left . In the West it would appear to be a matter of mere accident or fancy, though this distinction throws but little light on its origin or meaning. In India, however, we occasionally meet with the *swastika* flanged leftwise; and according to Prof. Max Müller it is then called the *sauvastika*. I do not see that this affects the main issue as to which way it is drawn, though the advocates for its being a solar emblem would suggest that those differences argue in favour of the alteration in position of the sun at the vernal and at the autumnal equinox, or may very possibly have had some reference to the rising and setting of the sun in its diurnal course. This appears to me to be somewhat fanciful, and in all probability the *swastika*, as being in India far more commonly found than the *sauvastika*, is the older sign of the two. It was a symbol in especial use amongst the Jains, a considerable Hindoo sect, and possibly with them it may have had a solar significance supposing they held Vishnu in greater veneration than the decaying Indra. There are a number of *swastikas* figured on the so-called sacred footprints of Buddha, found near sacred shrines (see fig. 30, Pl. XIX.) I believe here they properly refer to the god Indra, inasmuch as the other devices are pretty clearly referable to Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu (in the centre); these footsteps may belong to the age of the well-known caves of Ellora, about A.D. 400. At that time the worship or respect paid to Indra had not yet died out, as was the case with Agni the fire-god. As I understand Mr. Edward Thomas, the oriental numismatist, all the four symbols of fig. 30 either have some solar meaning or represent the sun itself. Siva was hardly a solar divinity however, and that the three principal *swastikas* indicate the morning, noon, and evening positions

of the sun would hardly in itself prove that the *swastika* itself was a solar symbol ; but standing for Indra (not their supreme god as Dyaus once was) it might yet be used in a three-fold or complimentary sense in relation to Vishnu, then the most favoured god, and represented in the centre by the *charkra* or mystic rose.*

It will here be necessary to add a few further observations on the often-supposed connection between the *swastika* and Agni as the old Indian fire-god beyond those alluded to at the commencement of this paper respecting the "Arani" mentioned in the old Vedic hymns respecting Agni. Professor Monier Williams in his translation (see *Indian Wisdom*) says, "Though thy origin be three-fold, now from air and now from water and now from the mystic double Arani." Again, "Displaying thine eternal triple form, as fire on earth, as lightning in the air, as sun in heaven"; and also Indra is called "twin-brother of Agni." There may therefore be some connection between Indra and fire, for Indra was also the lightning-god as well as the sky- and air-god ; and the lightning and the sun are mere varieties of fire. The fire-churn or chark, though not the same as I have said as the Arana, which consisted of only a single piece of flat wood below, may yet possibly once have had the form shown in fig. 38, Pl. XIX. which might be an earlier form of the so-called Maltese cross ; and frequently, according to Dr. Schliemann, found inscribed on the Trojan whorls, though I do not see any such given with the numerous figures of whorls in his *Troy* and *Ilium*.

Mr. A. J. Evans states "that the older *swastika* developed into the wheel, and that Agni was the older form of the Aryan hearth-fire, and took precedence of the heavenly luminous bodies, even before made a divinity"; but perhaps he goes too far in suggesting that the wheel of the sun itself is simply the old Vedic double Arani. Coulange, a French author, states that much of the worship and attributes of fire were afterwards given to Zeus and Brahma ; and if that writer is correct it may help very materially my own theory in explaining

* Some of the devices belonging to the Indian god Siva are given with fig. 19, Pl. XX. The Indian *cruzasata*, figs. 9 and 19a, is commonly depicted by a triangle, apex down, instead of by a loop or oval as in the Egyptian symbol. This symbol, supposed to indicate eternal life and royalty, may have come to India from Egypt by way of Persia, and been accepted as an appropriate emblem for the Indian god Brahma, expressive of eternal self-existence, and essence or cause of all things. The upper part, or triangle drawn apex downwards, with the Hindoos, might here however apply rather to the purifying element, water, which, according to Karl Blind, was anciently considered to be the origin of all created things. The *trisul* is generally considered to be the special emblem of Siva ; but Fergusson sometimes applies it to Buddha. Furlong and Inman look upon the *trisul* as a purely *phallic* emblem.

how the element of fire and the god Agni in India were connected with Dyaus, Indra, and Zeus, and how there might have been some early connection between the *swastika* as connected with both fire and air. From the earliest time there was, as I have stated, a distinction between Indra, Dyaus, and Zeus, and Surya, Varuna, and Vishnu. Very remotely the oldest and simplest emblem for the sun must have been the plain circle ○; and as early, but quite a different emblem, the simple +, was also a common and favourite device, having its own, though not always a constant, meaning.


For a full account of this supposed connection between the *swastika* and the solar orb I must refer to Mr. Thomas's interesting paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* before referred to, and of which I give a short account in a foot-note.* But with his general conclusions and with some of his instances I cannot agree, as being based on a too narrow and somewhat fanciful interpretation; and especially so with reference to the devices seen on the foot-print of Buddha, already referred to (fig. 30, Pl. XIX.) But on some of the Ujjain and Andhra coins referred to in the foot-note I have admitted that in the *swastika* certainly is used to represent the solar orb itself.

Fig. 29, Pl. XIX. showing a cross with spurs or feet, consisting of a kind of

* In a paper printed in the *Indian Antiquary*, Mr. Edward Thomas states with reference to certain Indian coins from Ujjain and Andhra, in the Deccan, "that the place of the more definite figure of the sun, in its rayed-like wheel-form, was taken by the emblematic cross of the *swastika*. The position so taken in opposition to or in natural balance of the coincident semi-lune, could leave no doubt that the aim and intention in this case was to represent symbolically the great luminary itself. In seeking for further confirmation of this inference I found that in one instance the *swastika* had been inserted within the rings or normal circles representing the four suns of the Ujjain pattern on coins, in which position it seemed equally to declare its own meaning, as indicating the onward movement and advancing rotation of the sun. I had already noticed that there was an unaccountable absence of the visible sun, or solar disc, in the long list of recognised devices of the twenty-four Jaina Tirthankaras. The sun, moreover, occupied a high place in their estimation." And again, "Under the advanced interpretation of the designs and purport of the *swastika*, from an Indian point of view, now put forward, perhaps few archaeologists will be disposed to dissent from the inference that in this case also its figure, as representing one of the received attributes of the sun, was used conventionally to typify the solar orb itself." I agree with Mr. Thomas that in this instance we have one of the few cases where the *swastika* may be used in a purely solar sense. The Indo-Scythic coins (figs. 22, 23, Pl. XIX.), which I have already referred to, do not further bear this out, however; here the *swastika* alludes evidently to Indra as the sky- or air-god. As Indra fell out of sight his original and proper emblem would be very likely used in other senses and in honour of other gods. Professor Monier Williams says, "Time with the Jainas proceeds in two eternally revolving cycles of immense duration; 1st, the Utsarpini or *ascending* cycle; 2nd, the Avatsarpini or *descending* cycle." Possibly the revolving or circular devices on the Ujjain coins may refer to those cycles, and not necessarily to the sun. Mr. Hyde Clarke, however, considers Siva = Saba = Sabazios = Sun.




double-tooth-fanged device, has certainly an appearance of circular or whirling motion being intended, possibly in relation to the later fire-charm, and in a way reminds one of the *swastika*. This device occurs, according to Mr. Edward Thomas, on a coin from Ujjain in the Deccan. The toothed device, however, probably belongs to the god Siva, who had not a solar origin. As I have said, if the *swastika* was an emblem of Indra as the air, rain, and lightning-god, there might not unfrequently be some kind of connection existing between it and other kinds of fire, whether of the altar or the solar fire.

It may be a question, after all, whether even the curved rays often seen attached to fires of the solar disc or circle, suggestive of rotatory motion, may not in part have had their origin in the idea of the whirling of the whorl on the spindle-drill, used in obtaining fire by friction, for the movement of the sun on its own axis could have hardly been known to the ancients. (See figs. 19, 29, 35, 14, Pl. XIX. and 3, 4, 5, 6, 24, 33, and 34, Pl. XX.)

I must refer to Dr. Schliemann's *Ilium*, pp. 346-353, for much interesting information appertaining to the *swastika* and *fylfot* symbol, and to what also is there quoted from Bernouf, Max Müller, and Mr. Edward Thomas respecting it.* Prof. Max Müller, whilst inclined to see in the *swastika* an emblem of the vernal sun, and in the *sauvastika* of the autumnal sun, yet also thinks that "whilst we are justified in supposing that among the Aryan nations the *swastika* may have been an emblem of the sun, there are indications to show that in other parts of the world the same or a very similar emblem was used to represent the earth. Mr. Beal has shown that in Chinese  is the symbol for an inclosed space of land, and that the simple cross + (?or more properly ×) occurs as a sign for *earth* in certain ideographic groups. Here, however, the cross may have been intended to represent the four quarters of the sky—north, south, east, and west; or, more generally, extension in breadth and length." (See figs. 13, 13a, 14, 14a, b, c, 35, 36, Pl. XX.)

Here I can hardly think that this ideograph for earth would agree well with any mythological idea connected with the attributes or functions of Zeus, Indra,

* One can hardly adopt as real argument all the fanciful solar notions given in the Vishnu Puranâs and *Vishnu-pada*, as to the three steps or strides of Vishnu; and the rising meridian and setting sun and the feet of the revolving solar orb or wheel, as alluded to by Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller, as necessarily connected with the *triskele* and *swastika*. The Puranâs were epic poems written hundreds of years after the oldest Rig Vedas. And the connection between the *swastika* and the *triskele* itself is at best somewhat doubtful; only in a very few cases do we find the *swastika* and *fylfot* having any really definite employment in a sense directly solar. R. Brown shows that the *triskele* was a lunar symbol.

and Thor, as air-gods, and whose emblem or device I think I have succeeded in showing was certainly the *fylfot* or *swastika*. However, it would be quite as easy to derive the latter, or , from the Chinese figure  for land, as from .

The old Chinese sign for the *swastika* (fig. 36, Pl. I.) resembles the letter Z, with a small circle inclosing a + at each end or angle, and called the *lei wen*, or "thunder-scroll," according to Dr. Bushell. ^b Figs. 14, 14c, and 14b, Pl. XX. probably represent some of the Aryan symbols for earth, the diagonals within the circle or square being drawn obliquely, instead of vertical and horizontally.

In conclusion, the best explanation of the *gammadion* (or *fylfot* and *swastika*) symbol would appear to be that it was a much-used and favourite religious symbol among the earlier Aryan races, and was intended by them, in the first instance, to represent in a cruciform form an ideograph or symbol suggested by the forked-lightning, and well shown by our letter Z, two of which crossing each other in the middle admirably represent the ordinary device known by the names of the *gammadion*, *croix-pattée*, *fylfot*, and *swastika*. The cross itself simply may here also have had reference to the four quarters of the earth or sky. Besides, the lightning, as the chief weapon of Zeus and Indra and the most striking of atmospheric phenomena, would necessarily have likewise been associated other meteoric phenomena, as the rain, wind, clouds, &c. (See Pl. XIX. figs. 1 and 38.)

In India these ideas were centred very naturally in Indra as the rain-giver and the son of Dyaus, who, there at a very early period, gradually appears to have dropped out of sight.

Among the more northern and western Aryan races, these ideas were similarly expressed by Zeus, the direct representative of, and the same with, Dyaus. Still later and further West, Zeus became Jupiter *Tonans* and *Pluvius* and Thor.

In the words of J. B. Waring (*Ancient Ceramic Art*, p. 116, published 1874), which I shall quote: "As regards the *fylfot* we consider its claim, as the emblem of the sky-god Zeus and Thor, to be pretty well established. But we admit that it may have been used as emblematic of the water-deity."

We have seen that Prof. Max Müller considers it may also have sometimes been used as emblematic of the earth, as well as had sometimes a *solar* connection.

^a The ladder or step-like device shown in fig. 28, Pl. XIX. on pottery from *Magna Græcia*, is most probably an earth-symbol, and occurs here with the *fylfot*. Very similar figures occur also on the Trojan whorls, and which have not hitherto been explained. (See also fig. 16.)

^b See also fig. 38, Pl. XIX. probably a Scandinavian emblem for the thunderbolt.

Mr. Edward Thomas (1880), also a great authority, considers it to be entirely a *solar* sign, and to stand not unfrequently for the solar orb itself. Ludvig Müller, of Copenhagen, who has written (1877) a most important treatise on the *gammadion*, does not doubt but that it originally stood as the emblem of the "supreme being" among the earliest Aryan nations (in which I agree with him); but he makes no express reference to Zeus or to Indra in connection with it, and considers that the feet or spurs of this cross were derived from the idea of *solar* movement through the sky or universe; and that it was through the *triskele*, *triquetra*, &c. (see figs. 4, 6, 6a, 33, 34, Pl. XX., and 19, 24, 35, Pl. XIX.), both, possibly, *solar* devices (though not so old or widespread as the *gammadion* or *fylfot* by any means), that the latter symbol was suggested and originated.*

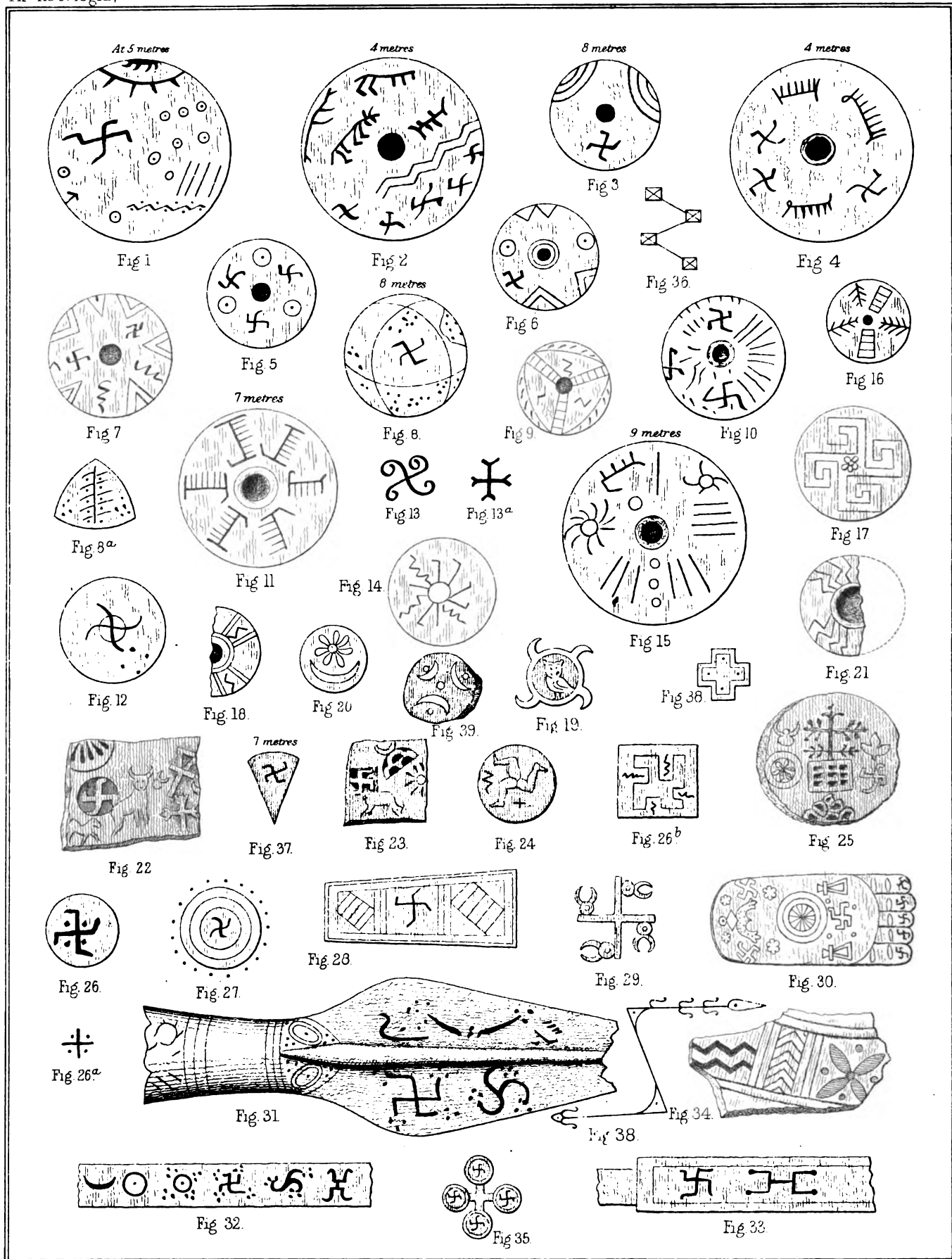
In Appendix II. I have given a short account of Ludvig Müller's theory and arguments; but, as I have already stated, I prefer explaining the actual origin and construction of this symbol, by its resemblance to the forked lightning. That, perhaps, is a matter only of detail, which may very likely never be thoroughly solved.

I have likewise given, in a convenient form, (Pl. XXI.) and in a somewhat novel way, an attempt in connection with this paper on its bearings with Indian and Aryan mythology to illustrate by a kind of genealogical table the ramifications of the older and chief Aryan divinities and nature elements associated with them, as connected with each other, and with the symbol we have been discussing. And in Appendix I. a fuller account of the Hindoo mythology, commencing with Dyaus, as the sky- and air-god on the one side, as distinct from Varuna, the bright firmament deity, and Surya the sun, on the other.

As I have before intimated, the old fire-god Agni may have held a somewhat intermediate position, as between the lightning of Indra and Zeus, and the sun as Surya and Mitra.

The argument derived from the intermediate position, in which the *fylfot* and *swastika* are often represented in combination with other symbols, especially those representing the solar orb, or the earth and water, as shown more especially in figs. 1, 2, 22, 23, Pl. XIX. and 1, 2, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 18a, Pl. XX. has never, that I am aware of, before been recognized. It is especially noticeable in figs. 18 and 18a, Pl. XX.

* If R. Brown's *lunar* and Semitic or Asiatic origin of the *triquetra*, however, should be established, then the entire argument in favour of the *triquetra* being derived from the *fylfot*, or vice versâ, falls to the ground.



FYLFOT SYMBOL.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.

If the symbol we have been investigating was at first really emblematic of, and the symbol of, Dyaus, Zeus, and Indra, then we may very fairly assume it primarily had not a solar significance; nay, even more, for just as Zeus was superior to Helios and Apollo, and to the Pelasgians and Greeks a distinct deity, so was the *fylfot* and *swastika*, among the early Aryans, evidently once held in the greatest estimation; and the only reasonable and fair inference we can draw is that this symbol was, from a very early time, with the Aryan race a symbol of the "supreme being,"* as Ludvig Müller expresses it, and who among these Aryans was certainly not the sun or Apollo; but was to them better expressed or typified by the sky and air; the sky possibly as containing or sustaining the sun, moon, and stars themselves, the air as being the element productive of the rain, clouds, and thunder, and of which the forked lightning was not the least remarkable phenomenon.

REFERENCE TO PLATES.

PLATE XIX.

Figs. 1 to 8, and 8a, 10-12, 14-16, 18-21. Trojan terra-cotta balls and whorls. Schliemann, *Troy*.

12, 13, 13a. Modifications of the cross or *fylfot*. Schliemann, *Troy*.

9. Whorl from Cyprus. R. P. Greg.

17. Coin from Cnossus in Crete. Edward Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. pl. iii. fig. 6.

19. Coin from Lycia. Edward Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. pl. iii. fig. 6.

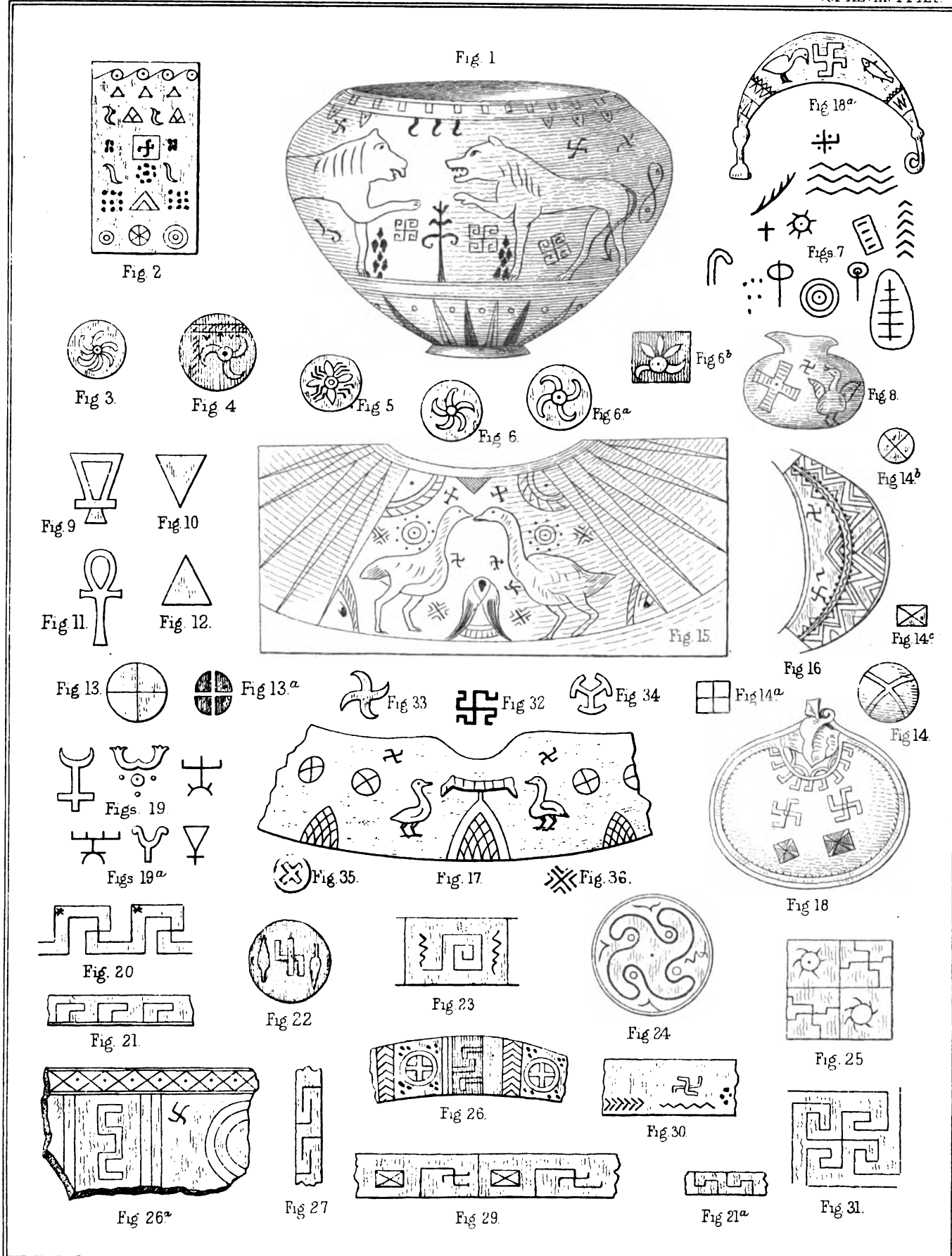
20. Coin from Macedonia (Uranopolis). Percy Gardner, vol. xx. pl. iv. fig. 17.

* Among the Hindoos Brahma may have for a time expressed to some extent this idea of a "supreme deity," and subsequently to a certain extent Vishnu possibly became among many Indian sects a kind of solar impersonification of supremacy. So also in certain of the old Greek colonies there was a later tendency to place Apollo in the first rank, or even before Zeus; we need not therefore be surprised, as I have already suggested in reference to certain coins described by Edwards, that the *fylfot* and *swastika* may have been occasionally borrowed as a symbol representing the greater sky-god of the earlier Pelasgians. We should therefore be on our guard against a too hasty inference as to the solar origin of the *fylfot*, or that its peculiar feet or terminal spurs were intended to express a revolving movement, whether axial or advancing.

- Fig. 22, 23. Coins from Indo-Scythia. (B.C. 250 ?) Prinsep. See also Waring and Wilson.
24. Coin from Selge, Pamphylia. Waring's *Ceramic Art*, pl. xlii.
25. Ancient Hindoo Coin. Cunningham (Buddhist).
26. On archaic pottery, Santorin, Ægean Sea. Waring, pl. xlii.
- 26a. On archaic pottery, Camirus, Rhodes. British Museum.
27. On the Annam Stone, Scotland. (Celtic.)
28. On archaic pottery in Turin Museum (*Magna Græcia*). (The ladder-like sign standing perhaps for the earth also found at Troy.)
- 29 and 35. On coins from Ujjain in Southern India. Thomas, *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. pl. ii.
30. Foot-print of Buddha (so-called). Amarāvati Tope, India. *Num. Chron.* vol. xx. pl. ii.
31. Iron spear-head, Brandenburg, North Germany. Waring's *Ceramic Art*, pl. xlv.
32. Ancient Scandinavian devices. Stephens (and Waring, pl. xlv.)
33. Devices on a bone arrow-head from a bog in Denmark. Waring, pl. xlv.
34. On archaic pottery (B.C. 650 ?), Mycenæ. Dr. Schliemann.
36. Ancient Chinese ideograph for the *swastika* or "thunder-scroll." Dr. Bushell.
37. On a leaden idol of a goddess from the third Trojan city. Schliemann's *Ilium*.
38. Conventional form of thunderbolt; incised stone, Forfarshire. Waring.
39. Coin of Metapontum, showing the lunar origin of the *triquetra*. R. Brown.

PLATE XX.

- Figs. 1, 15, and 17. Archaic Greek pottery. British Museum. (B.C. 650 ?)
2. Devices on an old Anglo-Saxon vase or urn, Cambridgeshire. Waring, pl. xlv.
- 3, 4, 6, 6a, and 6b. Lycian coins and devices, showing *triquetra*, &c. (N.B.—According to R. Brown, Junr., the *triquetra* is a lunar emblem.) Fellows, Thomas, and Waring.
5. Ancient Assyrian symbol, of solar disc. (1200 B.C.) Rawlinson and Waring.
7. Twelve small purely Celtic devices and symbols, incised stones in Scotland and Ireland much resembling similar ones from Troy, &c.
8. Archaic jug from Cyprus. R. P. Greg.
9. The usual form of the Indian *crux-ansata*, with inverted triangle for loop.
10. Indian symbol for water, the triangle apex downwards.
12. Indian symbol for fire, apex upwards.
11. Usual Assyrian form of the *crux-ansata*; derived from Egypt.
- 13 and 13a. The simple cross and circle, a solar symbol of a mixed character.
- 14 and 14b. Cross and circle, the former oblique, supposed to symbolize the earth.
- 14c. Square, with diagonals to represent the earth.
- 14a. Hieroglyphic letter or ideograph, in Chinese, for inclosure of land, and probably also standing for earth.
- 16, 18. Etruscan gold and bronze *fibulæ*, found at Cære in Etruria, showing *fylfots* in open space for the air-god. Waring, pl. xli. and Ludvig Müller, fig. 16.



C.F. Hall. Lith.

FYLFOT SYMBOL.


- Fig. 18a. Bronze *fibula* found in Boeotia, showing *fylfots* intermediate as between symbols for earth and sun. Ludvig Müller, fig. 8.
19. Five devices, probably belonging to the god Siva. Prinsep and Wilson.
 - 20, 29. Greek key-pattern, doubled or interlocked, showing probable connection between the *fylfot* and meander ornamentation or border. Camirus.
 - 21, 21a, 27. Simpler forms of the Greek key-fret (also in fig. 26).
 22. Coin from Gaza, in Palestine, possibly of a solar character. Waring, pl. xlii.
 23. On pottery. Museum of the Louvre, Mexico, typical of water (and fire?).
 24. Curved or modified form of the *fylfot*, having possibly a solar character, on embossed gold buttons from Mycenæ. (B.C. 1200.) Schliemann.
 25. Devices on modern Japan ware; solar and lightning symbols.
 26. On archaic pottery (*circa* 650), Mycenæ. Schliemann.
 28. Devices on an early diota or water-jar, representative of the sun, fire, and water. British Museum.
 30. From a Danish *bracteate* with *fylfot*, or air-symbol, standing immediately over the symbol for water. Waring, pl. xliv.
 31. Combination of *fylfot* and key-pattern, common on Chinese, Japanese, and old Roman ornamentation.
 32. On a silver bowl, Etruria. Waring, pl. xli.; also in Chinese ware.
 33. ? variety of the *swastika* on coins from Afghanistan. Wilson.
 34. Three-armed and semi-circular device. Wilson.
 35. Hieroglyph or sign for land, or inclosure. Egypt.
 36. Cross, as in fig. 15, standing for earth.

APPENDIX I.

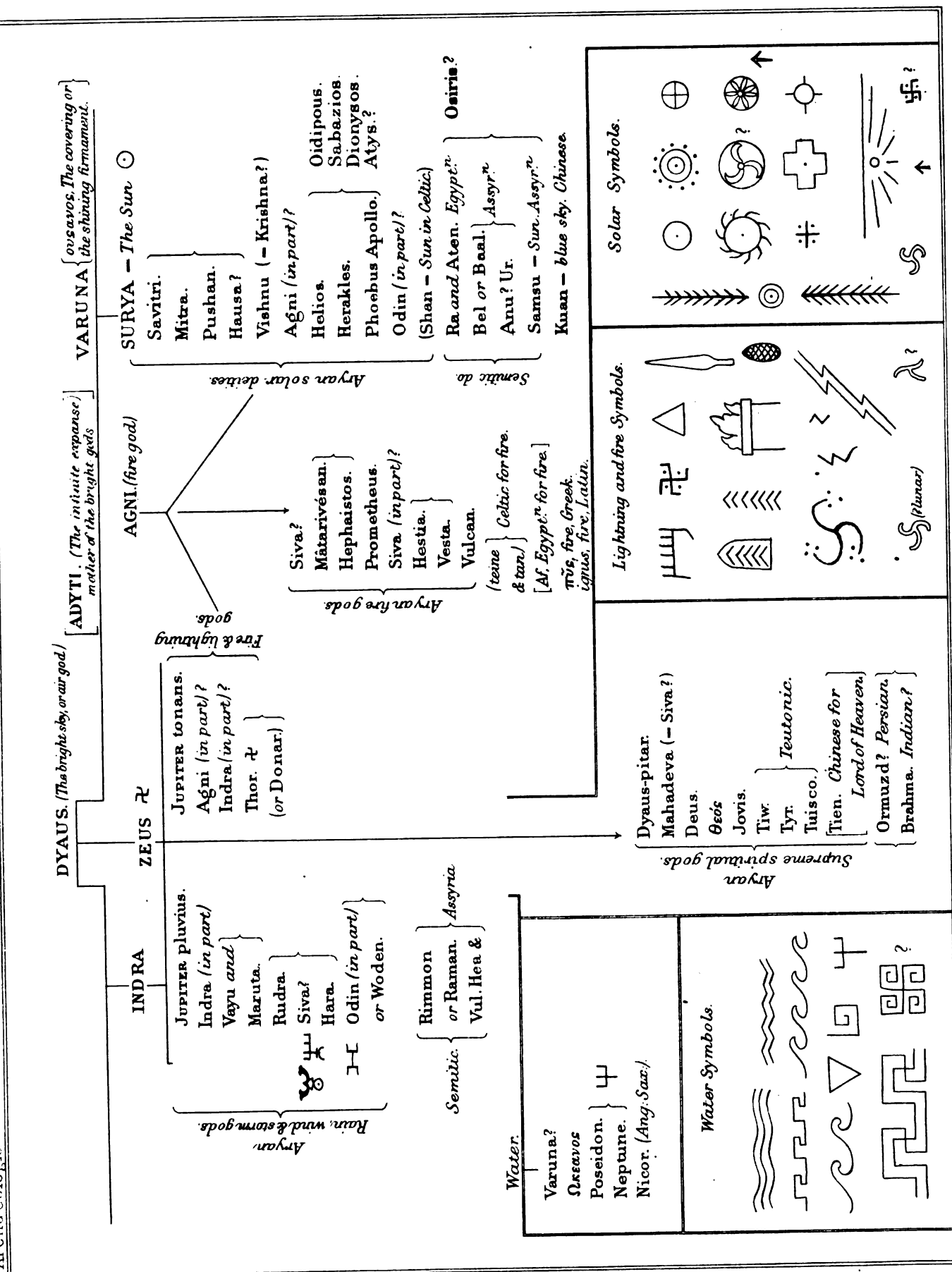
In tracing out the history of the *swastika* it is well to bear in mind that the development of Siva and Vishnu worship is comparatively late. The worship of Dyaus, Varuna, and Agni, and to some extent also that of Indra, became forgotten or changed by the Buddhists. Some of the functions of the gods, whether single or as *triads*, varied from time to time, or was differently considered by different sects, or in different parts of India. Following the works of Max Müller, Monier Williams, Cox in his *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, and Kelly in his *Folk-Lore*, it may I think be gathered that Varuna, originally the investing sky or ether, became the bright and shining firmament, and still later became invested with solar ideas and properties, as in Surya, Savitar, Mitra, and Pushan, and to a large extent in Vishnu himself; at a still later period, some authorities make Varuna a god of the ocean and water. *

* The goddess Adyti, meaning the Infinite Expanse, became the mother of the bright gods, and especially so of Surya and Mitra.

Brahma, the infinite and eternal essence and mysterious source of life, and even creator of all things, by some was considered=Dyaus+Varuna+Agni, and formed the first person of the great Hindoo trinity—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva—as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. By some, Brahma himself was even looked upon as all these three. I take it that the *cruz-ansata* (see fig. 9, Pl. XX.) was at a later time intended to represent the god, or supreme idea, Brahma. The *trisul* and trident, the crescent-moon and the three-lobed *lotus*, were commonly employed as emblems of Siva, and the mystic rose, *charkra*, or many-rayed solar wheel-like disc, stood for Vishnu. With some, the lotus, trident, and *trisul* as well as *swastika* were *phallic*.

The *swastika*, as I have attempted to show, was in all probability the symbol or ordinary device of Indra as well as that of Zeus. Vishnu was sometimes=Indra+Surya or Savitar. Surya or Savitar was probably older than Vishnu, and was sometimes called the eye of Mitra and Agni. Agni must have occasionally been associated with solar attributes. Siva by some was once connected with Agni; but more certainly according to others, and earlier, with Rudra, a storm-god connected with India. Subsequently, and much later, Siva-worship to some extent even supplanted Vishnu, and in so doing possibly borrowed some of the generative and quickening influence attached to the solar power, and thus became more of a “beneficent god,” and his worship thoroughly imbued with *lingam*-worship. Siva is said indeed to have manifested himself under eight forms, viz., ether, air, fire, water, earth, sun, moon, and the sacrificing priest. Thus he may be said to have combined the qualities or powers of Indra, Dyaus, Varuna, and Surya; and should we find the *swastika* in connection with the symbols of Siva and Vishnu we should be careful in attaching a primitive solar significance to it. According to Kelly, Siva=Rudra+Agni, &c.; and the Scandinavian Odin was the successor of Rudra, Siva, and Indra. In some such way there was likewise a certain degree of connection between Thor and Odin, or Woden. I understand from Prof. Monier Williams that he considers the *trisul* of Siva to represent the two feet of Vishnu, with a small central star or boss between. Kelly in his *Folk-Lore*, p. 157, says: In the old sacred books of India the *palasa* is triple-leaved like clover or *trifolium*. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this form of leaf, it was meant to typify the *trident*; and a cross hammer with three points are among the oldest Indo-European symbols of forked-lightning, from which sprang the *palasa*, and which is called the *trisulcum*. Poseidon was the Zeus of the sea, and his trident equivalent to his father’s *trisulcum*, but there is no connection between Siva’s trident and *trisul* and Neptune’s.” If Kelly is right, Siva should first have been connected with Indra; but the trident has never been associated with Indra or with the sun. As to “the cross-hammer with three points,” spoken of here by Mr. Kelly, it is not quite easy to say if by it is meant the *swastika* and *fylfot*, or the three-armed device of fig. 31, Pl. XIX. or a **T**. There does not appear to be much connection however between the trident and the *swastika*, though the **T** may form a kind of link between the simple + and the . The letter **Z**, originally as I imagine the earliest ideograph for the forked lightning, may be said to be made up of three strokes, two to right and one to left.

There are many matters connected with these and other symbols on which the best authorities have agreed to differ, and which have not as yet been fully worked out. At the time of Manu, just before the rise of Buddha, about B.C. 500 or 600, Indra, Surya, Vayu (as Maruta), Jania, Varuna, Candra (the moon), Agni, and Prithivi (the earth), were the chief gods. Vishnu



A TABLE SHEWING THE OLDER ARYAN FIRE, WATER & SUN GODS &c.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.

C.F. Hall. Lith.

and Krishna (later on) were probably nearly identical. I am inclined to think that Vishnu, after 300 A.D. more or less assumed the honours or properties of Indra, Vaya, Surya, and Agni; and sometimes along with, and sometimes independently of, Siva, became nearly=all the gods. Indra, Varuna, Savitar (or Savitri), and Vishnu by turns were supposed "to support the universe." Agni was first born by the friction of two sticks, and carefully fostered by oblations of butter, or *Homa*. According to Cox, Agni and Vishnu were sometimes interchangeable, but this perhaps at a later time; and according to the same authority Indra himself gradually ceased to be god of the sky, but still long kept up his importance as national rain-giver to the thirsty earth. The root in Sanskrit, according to Max Müller, is *indu*, sap or drop, and is equivalent to the Jupiter *Pluvius* of the Latins. Indra is said to "shatter the clouds with his bolts." In one of his quasi-characters, however, as the "Wanderer," the Rev. G. W. Cox considers him "to have solar attributes (vol. i. p. 340), and is the same as the Teutonic Wegtan, and like Odysseus, Sigurd, Dionysos, Phoibos, Theseus, Oidipous, Herakles, and Savitar." But this might be also considered in reference to him as the sky-god; in the main he was essentially distinct from Surya, Helios, and Vishnu; and the air-god in a meteorological sense, rather than as having solar attributes, the *swastika* was the emblem of the first, and the circle or *chark* that of the sun.

Zaski, the oldest Vaidik and Sanskrit exegete of those whose sacred writings are preserved, wrote, "there are three *devatas*. Agni, who resides on the earth, Vayu or Indra, who resides in the intermediate space between heaven and earth, and Surya, who resides in heaven." Indra as dwelling intermediately may very possibly have participated in some of the honours or properties of either; and thus their respective symbols became more liable to be confused.*

H. R. Wilson in his *Rig Veda* gives a translation of the stanza known as the Hausavata Rich, as exhibiting the genus of more than one myth. "Indra is Hausa (the sun) dwelling in light; Vasu (the wind) dwelling in the firmament; the invoker of the gods (Agni) dwelling on the altar; the guest (of the worshipper) dwelling in the house; the dweller in the most excellent (orb the sun); the dweller in the sky (the air); born in the waters in the rays of light and in the (eastern) mountain of truth (itself)." This is mere rhapsody in praise of Indra. We have seen how pretty much the same ideas and honour were at a later time accorded to the god Siva in his eight manifestations; and this should induce us to being careful in tracing out the meaning of his symbols. It is only by going back to the older Vedas that we are enabled to see the real meaning of Dyaus, Indra, Agni, Surya, &c. and their connection with the western Zeus, Jupiter, and Thor with Helios and Apollo, &c. In the table I have added to this paper I have tried to show some of these relations more clearly. (See Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. ii. p. 425.)



Sometimes "Agni is said to be the cause of all things" (Cox, vol. ii. p. 193). Also, "they call him *The One*: viz. Indra, Mitra, Agni, Varuna, Yama and Mâtrivān." According to Karl Blind, Varuna was subsequently the god of the waters, or the ocean; and water was considered

* I have particularly remarked in the earlier part of my Paper in reference to certain of the figs. given in the Plates on the importance of the position given for the *fylfot* in these figs. and have pointed out that very frequently the *fylfot* has assigned to it an intermediate or most open place between the sun and the earth.

sometimes the original element of all things. Fire and water were also looked upon as the two great purifying elements among the southern Aryans.^a The worship of Vishnu began to prevail about B.C. 300. The age of the oldest Vedic hymns not earlier than 1300 B.C.

In the laws of Manu (B.C. 700 ?) it is stated that "Brahma milked out the triple Veda—Rik, Vajus and Sama—for fire, air, and the sun" (i.e. Agni, Indra and Surya, or Savitar).

Homa was the oblation of butter to Agni, and *soma-juice* to Indra, the rain- and air-god.

On one of the Trojan terra-cotta balls (figs. 8 and 8a, Pl. XIX.) we see on one hemisphere the  standing for Zeus (= Indra), the sky-god, and on the other side a rude representation of the sacred (*soma*) tree; a very interesting and curious western perpetuation of the same original idea, and a strong indirect proof of the  standing for the emblem of the sky-god.^b

By the laws of Manu, ceremonies were enjoined to Agni, Varuna, Indra, Sama, and to heaven and earth.

The older Vedic hymns would be very nearly contemporaneous, curiously enough, with about the time of the Trojan war, and with many of the terra-cotta whorls discovered and described by Dr. Schliemann. As I have, however, already stated, the *swastika*, as a symbol, has not actually been found in India or China earlier than about 200 or 300 B.C., though it must have been adopted by or known to the Buddhists many years before that.


According to Mr. A. Evans, the older "*swastika* naturally develops into the wheel (? of the sun), and in early times the hearth-fire took precedence of the sun and luminous bodies before becoming a divinity." The virgin Maya (mother of Agni) is no other than the wheel or lower disc of the old fire-churn or *chark*; and Buddha himself was to some extent identified with Agni. The wheel of the sun itself is simply the old *arana*, just as in the Vedas Agni, the fire of the hearth, is used to typify the sun, or the fire of heaven, and is connected with the revolving augur of Ulysses as a fire-drill.^c

The difficulty about the *swastika*, and its supposed connection with fire, appears to me to lie in the difficulty of knowing precisely what the old fire-drill and *chark* were like. The best

^a See fig. 18a, Pl. XX. where the *fylfot* standing for the supreme god, or for Zeus, is centrally placed between the solar goose and a fish; in this case, possibly fire and water as the two purifying elements might be intended, in fig. 18 a middle station between the sun and earth, exactly suitable to the position of an air-god.

^b How far the *soma*-tree was the same with the tree of life I am not prepared to say; but Indra was said to have been slayer of the dark serpent Vitra.

^c E. B. Tylor, in his *Early History of Mankind*, p. 257, says: "The old fire-drill is still used in India for kindling the sacrificial fire. The process by which fire is obtained from wood is called churning, as it resembles that by which butter in India is separated from milk. It consists in drilling one piece of arani-wood into another by pulling a string tied to it with a jerk with the one hand, while the other is slackened, and so alternately till the wood takes fire. The fire is received on cotton or flax, held in the hand of an assistant Brahmin." The Esquimaux use similar means. The ancient Greeks likewise used the drill and cord. (See Kuhn and Stevenson.) There is nothing here, then, of the *swastika* and four nails in connection with the fire-churn.

authorities consider Bernouf is in error as to the earlier use of two lower cross-pieces of wood, and the four nails, said to have been used to fix or steady the frame-work. At first a single piece of flat wood must have been used, and the upright stick was the second piece of wood referred to in the Vedas. If Mr. Thomas is correct in his idea that the *swastika* was a solar symbol, presenting the idea of a rotatory motion, that should perhaps be rather referred to the wheel or whorl used in conjunction with the chark. But I much doubt whether the  had originally any connection either with the fire-chark or with the sun.

The question of the eastern *swastika* is, however, doubtless a more complicated one than that of the more western *fylfot*, its counterpart.

APPENDIX II.

Ludvig Müller, in his important treatise on the *croix-gammée* or *fylfot*, published at Copenhagen in 1877, with fifty-two figures, bearing on this symbol, as found in different parts of the eastern and western world, considers it to have been used not only as an ornament (with various later geometric and fanciful additions and modifications) but likewise as a charm or amulet as well as a religious and personal emblem. The oldest known examples are those from Hissarlik, at Troy, and probably Pelasgian. Outside the Aryan race it was probably known only to the Phœnicians and Mongols, and it is not likely to have gone to India and Persia from the Pelasgians; but goes back to the time of the early Aryan dispersion. There are many different opinions as to its original meaning (many of which I have already referred to).

It has, according to Ludvig Müller, no connection with the *tau*, or with the *crux-ansata*, or with the fire-chark, arana, or with Agni, or with certain mystic or alphabetic letters, nor with the so-called spokes even of the *solar* wheel, or with the forked-lightning, nor even with the hammer of Thor, which was sometimes represented by the simpler **T**. Ludvig Müller considers there are certain Asiatic symbols which may throw light on its origin, *e.g.*, the *triquetra* and *triskele* (and which I have already referred to); see figs. 4, 6a, Pl. XX. and 24 and 31, Pl. XIX. where the three-legged and three-footed device or *triskele* (like that known as the arms of the Isle of Man!) evidently indicate "perpetual whirling or circular movement," and which was in Southern Asia Minor, Lycia, &c. (possibly in connection with Phœnicia?), the emblem of "Zeus assimilé a Baal," an inference chiefly to be drawn from certain Asiatic coins (B.C. 400) having a Perso-Lycian character; a few of the Sicilian coins also have similar devices. That the *triskele* is the same as the *tetraskēle*, or four-legged and four-footed symbol, and equally expressive of the "gyratory movement of the sun through the sky" (not axial?); and that the *fylfot* may be considered also four-footed and similarly expressive. That it was a "symbol of divinity before becoming a mere solar ornament," . . . "and should be referred to the circular movement of the world, or to the course of the sun in the sky, and may then well be the emblem of the divinity from whom emanates the movement of the universe, as the supreme being, whether of mono-


theism or of pantheism. As the first of the gods in polytheism, it would more especially and naturally be the sun-god." Looking at it, then, from this point of view, and at the religious belief of the ancient Aryans as a kind of mixture of naturalism and pantheism, that more nearly approached, however, to the idea of a single supreme being and creator of all things, one need not be surprised that the sun-god should have been the principal object of early worship, and that among the early Asiatic Aryans this symbol was in all probability at first the emblem of that principal divinity, supposed by them to include all the gods, and which, by natural preference, would be the sun-god, and that it was so considered by the Celts and Scandinavians.* That it was a symbol adopted by the Buddhists expressive of supreme divinity, but was used before that by the Mongols of Thibet, who had probably borrowed it much earlier from the Aryans themselves. In China it is called *ouan*, meaning "everything divinely good." It has been found on Persian coins, and may have been intended as an emblem of their Ormuzd. It was a very old symbol among the Pelasgians; it often occurs on vases, perhaps used for libations to the gods, and on burial-urns, and probably used by them to represent the supreme being as well as the sun, not unfrequently found also on Greek coins connected with the worship of Apollo, though not always four-legged or four-spoked. The head of Zeus sometimes occurs on Greek coins. Possibly it may sometimes have been the equivalent of the *crux-ansata* of the Semitic nations as in Cyprus, where Phœnician and Egyptian influence existed from an early period. But among the Greeks there is reason for supposing that the symbol also may have stood for *θεός* = *deva*, as among the older and more eastern Aryans; or for the supreme being, higher even than the gods of Olympus. Among the Germanic nations it may have been more used as an ornament or charm, possibly sometimes for their god Woden or Odin. Among the more Northern Germans and Scandinavians the symbol is found, and also in the *triskele* form, standing for the sun (and fire?). Thor's hammer was in a ruder form, sometimes a **T** simply. The *fylfot* here probably may have stood for Odin or Freia, and is often found on *bracteates* in conjunction with the head of a warrior and sometimes that of a woman. The symbol, Snorro thinks anciently came direct from Asia, across the Don and Southern Russia. In the North of Europe, however, Thor was more considered than Odin, and was the supreme god, and as such may have in the bronze age had the *fylfot* assigned to him, before even the simple **T** sign, as in the iron age. In Northern Scandinavia the *fylfot* was not employed as a Christian symbol.

I have thus shortly endeavoured to give an *epitomé* of Ludvig Müller's treatise on this symbol, and which in the original embraces some one hundred pages. With reference to his opinions and

* I cannot help thinking that Ludvig Müller attaches too much importance to the sun in connection with the early Aryans. In the Vedas the sun at first occupied the second place, and the sky and air-god along with Indra and Agni the first. Zeus or Jupiter, or their representatives, also generally held the place as the supreme god of the Western Aryans, and as we have seen that referred to the sky and air rather than to the sun, and that the *fylfot* emblem belonged to Zeus. It is surely going back too far to decide whether among the Aryans 3000 to 5000 years ago they may have first worshipped the sun as a simple element.

statements in connection with the views I have given in the body of this Paper, I may observe that he fails to state that the supreme god of the Vedas and of the Pelasgians was certainly Zeus (= Dyaus), who was the sky and air-god, *not* the sun-god. Whether Dyaus or Zeus was ever the equivalent of the sun, or sun-god, in pre-Aryan times, is going back too far! In considering the *fylfot* as the emblem of Zeus and Jupiter, merely as the "supreme god," Ludvig Müller and myself are agreed; but in referring the *fylfot* as a device to have originated in a reference to the movement of the sun through the heavens I am very doubtful, and prefer the explanation given in the body of this Paper, that it was a device directly suggested by the forked-lightning, as the chief weapon of the air-god. The Aryans were by no means a race given to sun-worship; fire, rain, wind and lightning were quite as much thought of, or even more so than the sun, and they even had an idea of a supreme god or creator, in a higher or more spiritual sense, than the other nations at that early time.



That the *fylfot* and *swastika* occasionally did service as a solar emblem, I have admitted and endeavoured to explain.

That the device arose out of the *triskele* and *triquetra*, I do not think can be proved; it is clear the  was a far older and wider-spread symbol than the *triskele* as well as a more purely Aryan one. (See note ^b, page 303.)

No doubt these three-legged devices may have been derived from four or from even seven-legged or spoked ones, and probably have some direct reference to solar or lunar revolution; but the *fylfot* 1500 B.C. as first seen on the Trojan whorls, was a square cross, with spurs or feet drawn at right angles, and not curved, save in a few cases where either carelessly drawn or as having some evident reference, negative or positive, to the sun or the round-shape of the whorls. (See figs. 8, 10, 12 and 13, Pl. XIX.) Even in fig. 12, where the curved cross on the circle of the solar orb has a most decided solar appearance, the sun-god and the sky-god both distinct, are doubtless intended to be represented in a close and natural alliance. In reference to fig. 24, Pl. XX. represented on a gold button from Mycenæ (B.C. 1200), I have already explained why the *fylfot* would naturally be given with curved terminations; for the artists working in metal embossment, and with a small round object such as a button, would almost be necessitated giving it a rounded shape.*

I have dwelt thus on the matter of the curved feet or spurs of the *fylfot* and *triskele* because it is connected with one of the strongest arguments in favour of the solar origin and meaning of the symbol we have been discussing at so much length; and one on which Mr. Edward Thomas and Ludvig Müller have touched on very largely in favour of that theory; but which may mislead from its very plausibility, if not at all events very fully considered.


* Fig. 18a, Pl. XX. represents a portion of a *fibula* from Boeotia, figured by Ludvig Müller, which at first suggests the idea of the *fylfot* having a solar connection. The hooked rays to the solar disc at the top are evidently copied from the spurs or feet of the *fylfot*; but this is almost a unique instance. The two small lower squares with inscribed diagonals most probably stand for the earth, and, if so, the two *fylfots* will not be out of place in the intermediate space as representing the air-god, and need no more have any solar reference than that the two squares standing for the earth have any solar character about them.

Considered finally, it may be asked, if the *fylfot* or *gammadion*, was an early symbol of the sun, or if only an emblem of the solar revolutions or movement across the heavens, why was it drawn square rather than curved? The , even if used in a solar sense, must have implied something more than, or something distinct from, the sun, whose proper and almost universal symbol was the circle. It was evidently more connected with the cross + than with the circle , or solar disc.

Whether it had a resemblance, as far as idea or meaning went, with the Semitic *crux-ansata* is just possible, though there is no reason for supposing that even that emblem had a solar origin.

ADDENDUM.

In the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xlix. No. 235, see a valuable paper on Indian spindle-whorls, discs, and seals found near Buddhist ruins, in N.W. India, by H. Rivett-Carnac, F.S.A. These are of clay, some solid, some perforated, and somewhat resembling those from Troy. Mr. Carnac thinks many of these may have been *ex votos*, especially those not perforated. Spindle-whorls however, ornamented with circles, rays, &c., are not uncommon among the remains of the Swiss Lake Dwellings, and in many other parts. When however, found near temples or sacred sites, the *perforated* ones may have not unlikely been used as *momenta* or fly-wheels for the sacred fire-drill. (See note on page 300.)

Mr. M. J. Walhouse, M.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary* (see *Trans. Royal Inst. of British Architects*, 1880-81, p. 159), has some important observations on the *swastika* and *fylfot*, and in which he also refers to Mr. Hodder Westropp's opinion on that symbol. N.B.—Mr. Walhouse considers that the emblem must have been associated with the sky-god Zeus, Thor, &c. A character nearly represented by the Runic G, occurs in a Pāli inscription (see *Royal Asiatic Soc. Trans.* vol. xx. p. 250). Prof. Stephens, of Copenhagen, remarks that in the earliest *runes* the letter G is drawn . Mr. Westropp draws a distinction between the Eastern *swastika* and the Western *fylfot*, which Mr. Walhouse (doubtless correctly so) considers to be untenable. Mr. Westropp also, rather fancifully, connects the archaic Greek *fylfot* with the four small incised squares on certain of the earliest Greek coins; and that in India it is probably connected with the two Pāli characters signifying, as General Cunningham has remarked, "it is well," and considers it has nothing to do with Bernouf's theory of the fire-drill and chark.

In the *Archaeological Report* on the Buddhist caves of Elura and their inscriptions, by James Burgess (2 vols. Trübner), some reference is made to the *trisula* of Siva (see page 320), which is considered to be the symbolical Buddhist *vajra*, and the *dorjé* of the Tibetan Lamas. In Tibet the *trisula* has four prongs. The *vajra* is said to be the thunderbolt of Indra, but at all events it is a very old symbol. On coins of Elis of the fourth century B.C. the thunderbolt of Zeus is somewhat like the old Buddhist *trisula* or *vajra*, or *dorjé* of the Lamas of the present day. So far Mr. Burgess. It may be remarked that the *trisula* is probably represented as four pronged on many of the Bactrian coins; as the *trisula* was certainly the symbol of Siva, it can hardly have also been the equivalent of the thunderbolt of Indra, a totally distinct and earlier divinity.

XV.—*Excavation of an Ancient Burial Ground at Marston St. Lawrence,
co. Northampton. By SIR HENRY DRYDEN, Bart.*^a

Read February 16, 1882.

THIS Burial Ground is five-and-a-half miles east-north-east of Banbury, a little more than a quarter of a mile north of Marston Hill farm, in the parish of Marston St. Lawrence, and 200 or 300 yards west of the Moreton road. The field was formerly called Bar-furlong, which name may be derived either from Barrow or from Barr, the summit of a hill, as Bardon Hill (Barrdun), the top of the hill, in Leicestershire.

It is on a high ridge of land, running west-north-west and east-north-east, overlooking the vale of the Cherwell to the south, and only one-and-a-quarter mile east of Arbury Camp, on Thenford Hill, which is the west extremity of the same ridge. The ground at the place falls gently to the south. The field has been ploughed for many years. The soil is from 1 ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. deep, on the top of a limestone rock, averaging about 1 ft. 6 in. in thickness, under which is sand.

The first skeleton was discovered in November 1842, in digging for stone for draining, and the excavation was carried on until the end of April 1843, when, having arrived at the limits of the unsown ground, further operations were deferred. There was no appearance of any earthwork, the bodies being placed in graves under small hillocks, as ours are now, or the surplus earth may have been spread around. The excavated space was about 150 ft. by 100 ft., but trenches were cut further out than this. There were found in all the skeleton

^a A part of the following Paper and the first three Plates (from engravings on copper) were published in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 829-834.

of a horse, and thirty-two human skeletons, all of which lay in nearly the same direction, varying from 20° to 40° east-of-north, with the feet to the north-east. They were from 1 ft. 3 in. to 1 ft. 6 in. under the surface, and were stretched out with the faces upwards, except four, one of which had the legs doubled back from the knees (as the workman said); two were laid on their left sides and one on the right. In this number I do not include a skeleton, or part of one (No. 9 in Plan), found broken up in a hole. Some of the bodies had a few stones taken from under them, but most were laid on the top of the rock. The graves in which they were laid were in great part filled with fine mould, probably sifted, and some of it appeared to have undergone fire. This fine earth is usually found in interments of this nature, and the common Roman monumental inscription **S. T. T. L.** *Sit tibi terra levis*, illustrates the reason of it.

In the reference to the Plan (Pl. XXII.), I have allotted certain relics to particular skeletons; but sixteen of the skeletons were taken up before I saw the place, and therefore the appropriation of remains to these sixteen is done on the authority of the workman. The others I believe to be quite correct.

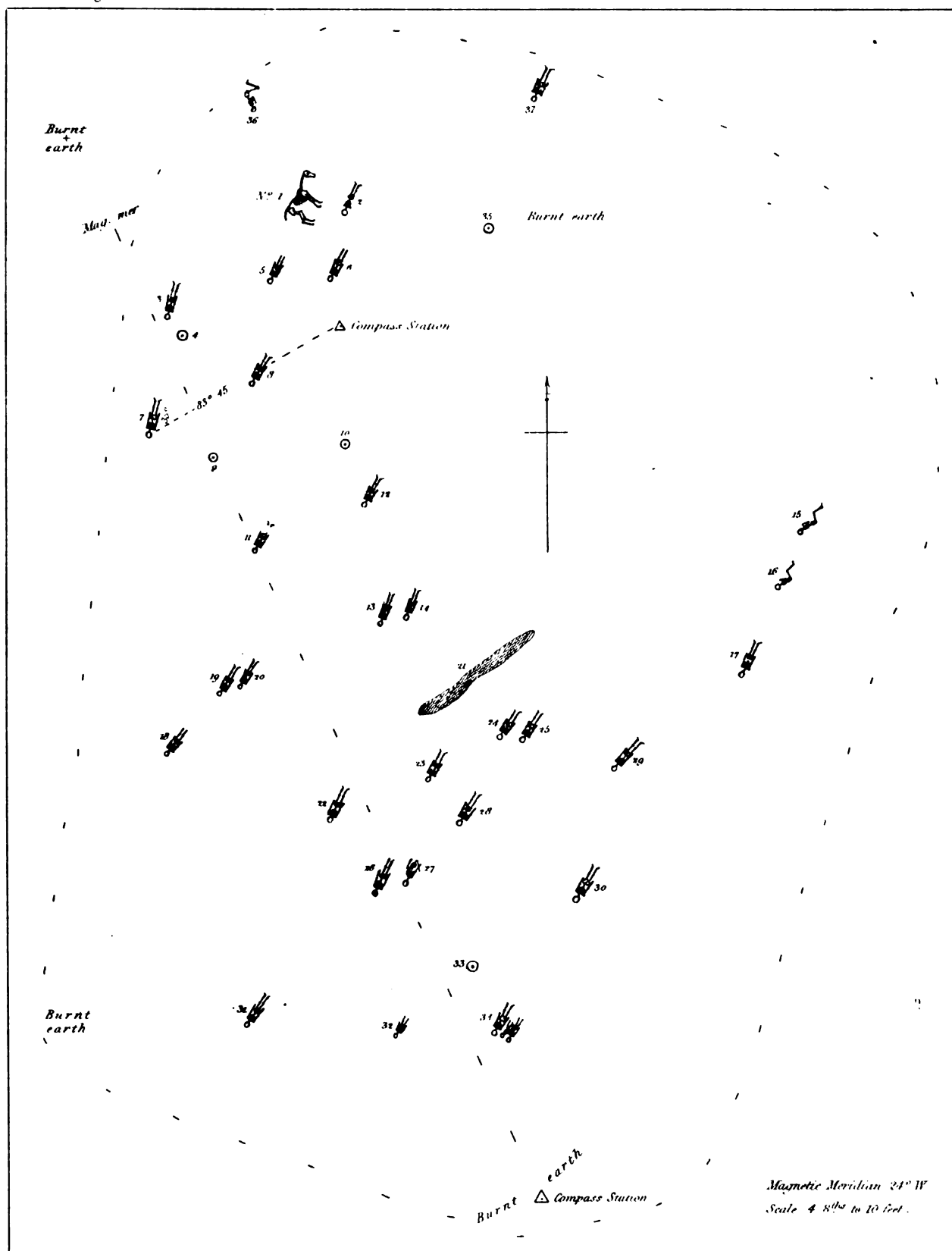
The workman marked with sticks the situation of the sixteen first skeletons when I began my Plan, and, as he was an intelligent man, I believe them to be pretty correct. The situation of the others were accurately taken with compass and tape, as they were discovered.

As is shown in the Plan, many of the skeletons lay in pairs, and most of the brooches and buckles were also in pairs, one for each shoulder, as sometimes seen in designs on ancient vases, marbles, &c. The figures on Plates XXIII. XXIV. and XXV. refer to the Plan. The articles without numbers were not appropriated.

REFERENCES TO PLAN.

No.

1. Horse lying on its near side, with bit in mouth, iron articles about the jaws, buckle on rump, and I believe the brass article near its mouth. It lay 3 or 4 feet deep. Judging by some bones it was about 14 hands high.
2. Skeleton with two circular brooches and twenty-six beads, and what appears to be a necklace-catch, being too weak for tweezers, which are often found in Roman interments.
3. Skeleton of small and young female with two coins, having holes in them for suspension, brass square ornament, two circular and open brass buckles, one



Planned by Sir H. Dryden, Feb. 1825

J. Evans, del.

Burial Ground near Marston St. Lawrence, Northamptonshire.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London - 1866.

No.

iron buckle, and about sixteen beads (some long ones) of amber, a few of the triplet beads round her neck, and a bracelet on each arm. She lay about 3 ft. 6 in. or 4 ft. deep, and had a few stones laid over her, some edgeways.

4. Fragments of urn of red pottery.
5. Skeleton measuring 5 ft. 3 in. to lower extremity of *tibia*. Spear-head 10 in. long, pointing upwards, level with head, on left side. Buckle in middle. Face up, and hands by sides.
6. Skeleton only 4 feet long altogether. Hands by side. Knife by right side, and buckle in middle.
7. Skeleton measuring 4 ft. 3 in. to lower extremity of *tibia*. Hands between legs, but elbows outside body. The stone was hollowed out 5 or 6 inches deep so that the back of the body, from neck to top of thighs, rested in the hollow. There was also a stone placed under the knees, to raise them a little, and they had slipped outwards from it. A knife with point down was by the right elbow.
8. Skeleton with one cruciform and one spade-brooch by neck, and about eight beads.
9. Broken bones in a hole. They were human bones, so perhaps a skeleton had been disturbed before.
10. Urn with Vandyke pattern on it. Pottery coarse, of a dark brown inside, and nearly black outside. It had the comb at the bottom of it, and was full of burnt bones.
11. Skeleton with beads.
12. Skeleton.
13. Skeleton with spear-head, boss of shield, ring, and two circular concave brooches.
14. Skeleton with large brooch, and about six beads.
15. Skeleton with two spade-shaped brooches, and brass buckle.
16. Skeleton with large spear-head, large knife, small knife, and buckle.
17. Skeleton with small spear and boss.
18. Skeleton with six large beads.
19. Skeleton with buckle.
20. Skeleton with buckle.
21. Train of burnt seed about 5 yards long on the top of the rock.

No.

22. Skeleton.

23. Skeleton with knife and pin.

24. Skeleton with two cruciform brooches, knife, and no beads.

25. Skeleton with cruciform brooch, knife, and no beads.

26. Skeleton.

27. Skeleton, asserted by the workman to have the legs doubled back.

28. Skeleton with beads about neck, and large bone bead alongside the arm.

29. Skeleton lying 41° east-of-north from feet to head. The shield of this man was placed flat on the bottom of the grave, and the body stretched out on it in such a manner that part of the remnants of the handle of the shield was found under the hip bones, and the boss with its point upwards was just between the thighs. The face of the skeleton was upwards. Two spear-heads were found close together, and close to the right side of the head parallel to the body. An arrow-head was at the feet. The boss was half-full of burnt vegetable matter, which looks like heath or fern-stems, the diameter being about one-tenth or one-eighth of an inch.

30. Skeleton with longest spear-head, boss of shield, knife under it, and iron handle of shield. The boss contains burnt matter as the other, and all the things were deposited as the last. Direction 31° east-of-north.

31. Skeleton with about twenty-four beads.

32. Skeleton of infant with knife.

33. Urn broken to pieces, with burnt bones in it.

34. Skeletons (3); first, supposed woman, with eight small beads of amber round her neck, buckle, two pins like those in Pl. XXIII. but rather smaller, a kind of pin, knife, iron article, and piece of brass wire round her neck. The two small skeletons were on the east side of her, smallest nearest.

35. Fragment of urn, of middling degree of texture. Less fine than urn with Vandyke pattern, and finer than No. 33, and about same texture as urn No. 4. Only about half of the lower half was found, but, as it is a different pattern from the others, it is a distinct urn. Some burnt bones were with it.

36. Skeleton doubled up, lying on its right side, with knees bent. They only found a knife with this one.

37. Skeleton lying on its back, with no head and only one arm, as workman said (do not know which arm). They found with it two spear-heads of different sizes, and a knife. Perhaps the bones in No. 9 (amongst which were parts of a skull) were the missing parts of this skeleton.

N.B.—This was the last body discovered this season, and this was about the second week in April.

TOTAL - - - 1 Horse.
4 Urns.
7 Skeletons, with weapons.
25 Skeletons, without weapons.

LIST OF RELICS.

Arrow-head of Iron - - - - - 1

Beads.—Most of the skeletons had beads about the neck, varying in number from four to twenty-six. About one hundred and eighty beads were found in all. Of amber about one hundred and twenty, varying from three-sixteenths to thirteen-sixteenths, and in colour from pink-yellow to intense ruby; of which most are rudely made. Of glass twenty-six, varying from five-sixteenths to thirteen-sixteenths. Most are bright blue, but one is black, one green, and two have light blue pattern on a brown ground. Of jet one. Of green stone or clay two. There are also fragments of twelve or fifteen more. There are also about thirty small beads made in triplets of some greenish transparent substance with a visible fibre, and wherever found are in triplets. Total, without fragments - - 180

The large bead appears to be cut by a transverse section from some large bone as the thigh, and has been turned in a lathe. It was found alongside the arm of a skeleton (according to the workman), about whose neck there were other beads. In the Chinese collection in London, in 1843, was a Chinaman with an ivory ring somewhat resembling this, used to fasten his cloak at the left breast by the rings being looped to one part of the cloak, and one of two strings fastened at the other corner of the cloak being passed through the ring and tied to the other string. It appears probable that this bone bead may have been used instead of a brooch, and no brooch was found with this skeleton as far as the workman remembered.

Bit for a horse.—This was found in the jaws of the horse. It resembles our present bridoons, but ours are always used with curbs. Our snaffle-bits always have cheek-pieces or very large rings. The reins and headstall

were fastened to this bit permanently, being riveted to small rings with flat shanks, which were linked on the large cheek-rings. The cavesson part of the head-stall was attached to the large rings by the other two smaller ones with flat shanks. I think the other rings and riveting-pieces attached to them, which were also by the jaws of the horse, belong to the cavesson part of the head-harness, to the largest of which perhaps was attached a strap for tying the horse up. The brass article was probably the strap of a buckle. In Douglas's *Nenia Britannica* is a bit like this. - 1

Bosses. (See *Shields*.)

Bracelets.—The only bracelets found were with the supposed lady, No. 3 in plan, one on each arm. They are of brass, clasped together like some of ours, and were sewn on to the strap by two holes in each piece. - - - 2

Brooches.—There were found in all ten pairs and a single one. The single one is a very beautiful specimen of copper partially gilt. The relieved parts are not gilt, the hollows are as bright as when new. The pin is lost, as well as the hinge-pin, and the catch has been filed off. It is singular that no one of the brooches had the pin in it or with it; three have the catches apparently filed off, and only three or four have the hinge-pin remaining. In all the brooches, except the large one, the hinge is a single piece of metal with a hole through it, so that the pin was forked at the end, and the hinge-pin passed through the three together. In some of the brooches there is a lump of rust about the hinge, by which it appears that the pins and hinge-pins were of iron, and probably so thin that corrosion has destroyed them. The iron tongue of one buckle was found with the buckle, which makes it more probable that the pins of the brooches were also iron. The brooches themselves appear to vary between tin, copper, and pale brass. Total - - - - - 21

Buckles.—There are two pairs and one of brass buckles, of which the two pairs are large circular open buckles, and the single one is small and of common shape. There are five iron buckles, of which one was found on the rump of the horse, and was doubtless connected with a crupper. One iron buckle has a brass strap, and there is a similar one engraved in Douglas.

Coins.—Only two coins were found in the part opened. One is decidedly of Carausius, and the other, though much corroded, appears to be of Salonina, the wife of Gallienus. Both coins have holes drilled through them for suspending them, and they formed part of the neck ornaments of No. 3.

In *Nenia Britannica* we are told that the custom of using coins for ornaments prevails in Sicily, and in a book called *The Nestorians*, by Asahel Grant, M.D., Murray, Albemarle Street, 1843, chap. 9, p. 90, he slept at the house of a Koordish bey; and in the morning, at his departure, amongst other presents, the mother of the bey suspended a small gold coin with some beads to his son's neck, as a memento of her affection. 2

Comb.—This was found in the bottom of the urn No. 10, and was covered with the burnt bones. The rivets are of iron, and the pattern the same on both sides. The material is bone. The bones were carefully washed and sifted, but no more teeth than those could be found, and therefore it is probable that it was in that state when put into the urn. We may suppose it was the most precious article of the lady's toilet, whose bones are contained in the urn. - - - - - 1

Handles of Shields. (See *Shields*.)

Knives.—These vary in length of blade from $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. and in breadth from $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. and vary but little in shape. All seem to have been fastened into handles of wood by a sort of spike at the bottom of the blade, and probably had wooden sheaths for the blades, which would account for our not finding any rivets, &c. with them. Total - - - - - 12

Pins for the Hair.—There are five of them, of brass, of which one has a ring of brass wire attached to it, and probably all have had, for there are holes for that purpose in them. They vary from $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length. 5

There is one bone pin, or rather part of it, with a brass wire ring in the head of it. It must have been about the same length as the others. 1

Rings.—There is only one ornamental ring, which is of silver wire, and was found on the finger of the skeleton. It is now broken in two places, but there is little doubt that it was as seen in the restored drawing. - - - 1

The two iron rings have been described with the horse. - - - 2

Shields.—The shields themselves must have been of wood or other perishable material, but we have one handle perfect, and a remnant of another, and four bosses of shields. The bosses of shields are all the same shape, but vary in size a little. From their being more numerous than the handles we may suppose that some handles were made of perishable materials. In the boss found with No. 30 we see the rivets which fastened it to the shield. The boss allotted to 13 is much broken, but those with 17, 29, and 30 are pretty perfect. - - - - - 4

The handle of shield found with No. 30 is perfect as far as the parts of it, but it is broken in two places. A piece of wood has been riveted on to the curved part in the middle of it. The object of having it so long was perhaps to brace the shield together, and strengthen it, though it does not appear that it was fastened to the shield, except at the two ends. From the distance of the burr of the rivet at one end from the handle we may conclude that the shield was five-sixteenths of an inch in thickness. The hand of the person using this shield would be immediately under the boss, as is shown by the handles being straight, for of course there would be no room for the hand between this handle and a flat surface. I imagine that those shields which had not iron handles, viz., with Nos. 13 and 17, had two leather loops, one which came across the arm below the elbow and the other held by the hand. - - - - - 4

Spears.—These vary in length, from 6½ in. to 1 ft. 4½ in. and in breadth from 1½ in. to 1¾ in. They vary but little in shape, the only peculiar one being that found with No. 16, which is twisted to give rotatory motion. It can only be explained by the drawing of the section (Plate XXV. No. 16).

The spears were all found in the same position, *i. e.*, close to the head and pointing upwards, which circumstance makes it probable that the staves of the spears were of the height of the man, or they must have been cut short. Two skeletons, Nos. 29 and 37, had two spears each. The other five had only one each. - - - - - 9

Urns.—It is singular that although the workmen were careful to look for all the pieces of the several urns as they came to them, yet they did not find all the parts of any one of them. Only a few fragments of No. 4 were found, and I did not learn that any bones were found with it. No. 10 is the urn which contained the comb. About a quarter of this urn is gone from bottom to top, and all the lip, which may have been ploughed off, but enough is left to ascertain its size, &c. It is of a rich brown colour, and the same density through. It was full of burnt bones. No. 32 is in very small fragments, in different people's possession. Burnt bones were also found with this. This is of a coarser pottery than the others. No. 35 was the last found, and, although the workmen looked carefully for the pieces, they only obtained about half the lower part of the urn, and two or three scraps. They found a few burnt bones about it. It appears to have been the largest of the four, and is of about the same texture of pottery as Nos. 4 and 10. Total - - - - - 4

Of the articles found some are now in my possession by the gift of the late Rev. E. Walford, of Chipping Warden, and others are in the possession of Mrs. Severne, of Thenford. To Mr. Walford, and to the late J. M. Severne, Esq. of Thenford, I am indebted for much of the information herein detailed. The horse's bit passed into the possession of the late Rev. R. Gordon, of Elsfield.

The line of the Port Way in this part of its course is not accurately known, but it must have been within one-and-a-quarter mile of this place, and probably much nearer. The course is this: Dorchester, Oxford, Kirtlington (near which it crosses the Akeman Street), Rainsborough Camp, near Marston, Eydon, Preston, Newnham, Borough Hill near Daventry, &c.*

Arbury Camp on Thenford Hill, as before stated, is within one-and-a-quarter mile of this spot, and numerous Roman and other remains have been found hereabouts.

Having described as far as possible the articles themselves, and the circumstances attending the discovery, it remains to attempt an appropriation of them to some particular class of people.

If we compare them with the Keltic remains found in the Channel Islands we see in these an indication of improvement in the arts.^b The absence of metal in the Keltic sepulchres, and the rudeness of their slightly-baked pottery, at once separate the two. Nor do they resemble either the supposed Phœnician or the Keltic remains in Ireland, nor the interments in Wilts, which Sir R. C. Hoare has, I think, properly determined to be British, except in a few cases.

On the other hand, the various collections of pure Roman remains found in England or in Italy show a much higher state of art in the manufacture of the pottery, though brooches and pins of this kind are found even with the Samian ware. See for example the collection of Mr. C. Roach Smith, of London; Pottery, &c., from Chipping Warden, co. Northampton, five miles from Marston, and from Borough Hill, co. Northampton, twelve miles from Marston, in my collection; Remains found at Castor, illustrated in Artis's *Castor*.

Moreover, where undoubted Roman remains are discovered in places of sepulture, we find a different system of interment. Cremation, it is true, is common to such burial-grounds as Marston Hill, and such as the Roman burial-ground near

* Baker's *Northamptonshire*, vol. i. pp. 340, 431. Beesley's *Banbury*, p. 37.

^b See short account, by Rev. W. C. Lukis, in Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, Introd. p. v.

Royston, of which the remains are at Clare Hall, Cambridge, but cremation is the rule in the Roman, and the exception in the other. The Romans, when they buried their dead, deposited by the body, and sometimes by the urn, cups, platters, and bowls of pottery, of bronze or of tin, lamps also and incense-cups, and occasionally bottles of glass; and we remark the *absence* of weapons and ornaments of dress. See the model of a tomb from Italy in the Fitzwilliam Museum (the pottery in this bears an Etruscan character, but the disposition of the articles is much the same as with the Roman), the remains in Clare Hall; and for specimens of Roman pottery see the collection of Mr. C. Roach Smith. The great feature in the class of interments to which the one under consideration belongs is the presence of personal decorations and of weapons,—especially of iron weapons—a metal which is on all sides agreed to have been but little used before the Roman invasion.

Having shown, then, that these remains are not Keltic or British, and that they are not pure Roman, there remain two classes of people to which they may be attributed—the Britons, after their subjugation by the Romans, when their arts would have been improved by their more polished conquerors, and the Saxons; and many have decided them to be Saxon from the similitude of the comb and circular brooches to those found in illuminated Saxon MSS. I may here remark that interments of this kind are more common in England generally than any other kind; *at all events*, more common than any, except undoubted Roman remains.

I shall now proceed to compare the Marston discoveries with others of a similar character.

At Newnham, only about twelve miles from Marston Hill, is a burial-place of precisely similar character. About twenty bodies have been found there; and all the articles which were preserved are in my possession. The bodies lay in the same direction as at Marston, with faces upwards, and like them also interred in small graves. The workman did not take the trouble to collect the beads, and consequently only two necklaces are preserved out of the scores of beads which he told me he saw there. Many of the beads exactly resemble the triplet beads of glass in Plate XXIII. and others the beads with blue pattern in Plate XXIII. A large brooch from Newnham exactly resembles one found at Castor with pure Roman remains, but also the Marston one in Plate XXIV. in having a number of faces in the ornamentation. The bosses of shields and the spears resemble those with skeletons Nos. 30 and 37. A part of a large brooch from Newnham more closely resembles that in Plate XXIV. and a hollow brooch bears a strong resemblance to

the Marston one in Pl. XXIII. The space dug over at Newnham is about 53 yards by 46, so that the bodies were distributed in about the same proportion to the ground as at Marston Hill. I have no pottery from Newnham, but there may have been some, as the man took no trouble to collect anything. The number without weapons bears a large proportion to those with, as in the case before us. Probably many were women and children.

At Northampton, in digging for the foundation of the Lunatic Asylum in 1836, they found several skeletons lying. Brooches accompanied them like those in Plates XXIII. and XXIV. and the circular one in Plate XXIII. On comparing the large brooch found at Northampton with the one from Marston Hill, a striking resemblance shews itself both in shape and pattern, and in having the hollows gilt. The skulls from Northampton are not so good phrenologically as the one of Skeleton 29, showing less of the intellectual qualities, but rather more of the animal propensities. I have three urns from Northampton much like No. 32 in Plate XXV. but one is much larger. With these were one or two small brass coins of the Lower Empire, not perforated.

At Welton, about fourteen miles north-by-east of Marston Hill, and four-and-a-half north-by-east from Newnham, were found in 1778 two skeletons with two brass brooches, like the cruciform brooch in Plate XXIV.; beads about their necks and wrists, like those with pattern in Plate XXIII. some like the jet and green beads in Plate XXIII. others like the amber beads in several graves. A small urn accompanied them, of same material and pattern as Plate XXV. No. 10 in plan, and perforated coins of Constantine and Flavia his empress. The field was then called "Stone-pit Close," but is now planted and called "Long-ground Spinney." Probably many skeletons were found there. It is half-a-mile from the church.

At Cestersover, in Warwickshire, on the Foss Way, a number of bodies were discovered with beads, in the same direction as those at Marston, viz., south-west. The remains found with them were of exactly the same description, and found in the same positions. The only difference between the two burial-places is that one sword was found at Cestersover. One urn strongly resembles No. 10, Plate XXV. The bosses of shields, spear-heads, knives, beads, &c., all have their counterparts in this collection. At Cestersover was found one large brass of Vespasian, not perforated.*

In Douglas's *Nenia Britannica* is an accurate description of a large discovery

* See *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 40.

of this nature on Chatham Downs, with some of which were found coins of Valentinian and Constantine.

About eighty tumuli have been opened within a few years on Breach Downs, near Canterbury. Many contained remains like these. In one tumulus was found a coin of Victorinus, not perforated, or placed with the body, but apparently dropped among the earth. One tumulus, however, contained remains of a different character, especially in a piece of pottery which is glazed, and striped yellow and brown on the inside. Here are *two* wide differences, the glazing and colouring. In this tumulus were four Saxon sceattas, not perforated, but in good condition, and deposited in what appeared to be the remains of a purse.

Mr. Jeffs, of Marston Hill, told me (1843) that in digging for a barn bearing about north-west-by-north of the burial-place at Marston Hill they found two skeletons, with a sword through the ribs of one. I doubt not that the top of this hill is full of interments.

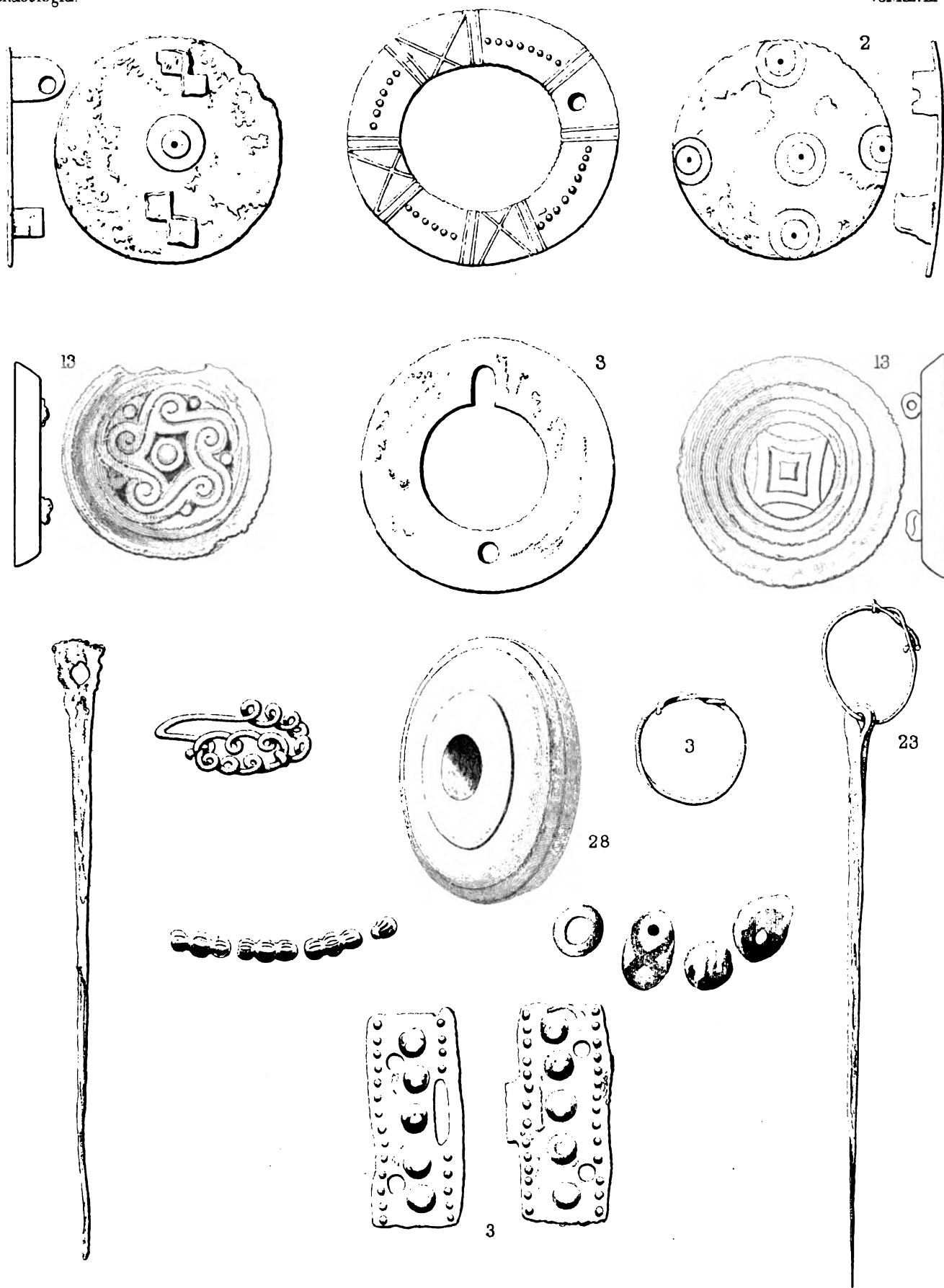
At Newnham and at Marston the number of skeletons found with weapons was small in proportion to those without; and, as at Marston, those with weapons were of larger stature than those without. We may conclude that the former were men and the latter women and young persons.

I have before mentioned that two brass coins of Carausius and Salonina were found at Marston Hill with No. 3, but that they were perforated. Of course a perforated coin does not afford a date, but I am told by a scientific coin collector that coins of Carausius are of such very soft brass that they could not last, even as neck ornaments, more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty years without being entirely obliterated. It is possible that coins in currency at the time may have been suspended to the necks of the dead after death as a tribute to the infernal deities, though this respect for Pluto does not appear to have obtained frequently among the Britons, since the most costly articles of dress are frequently found with bodies which have not a single obolus with them.

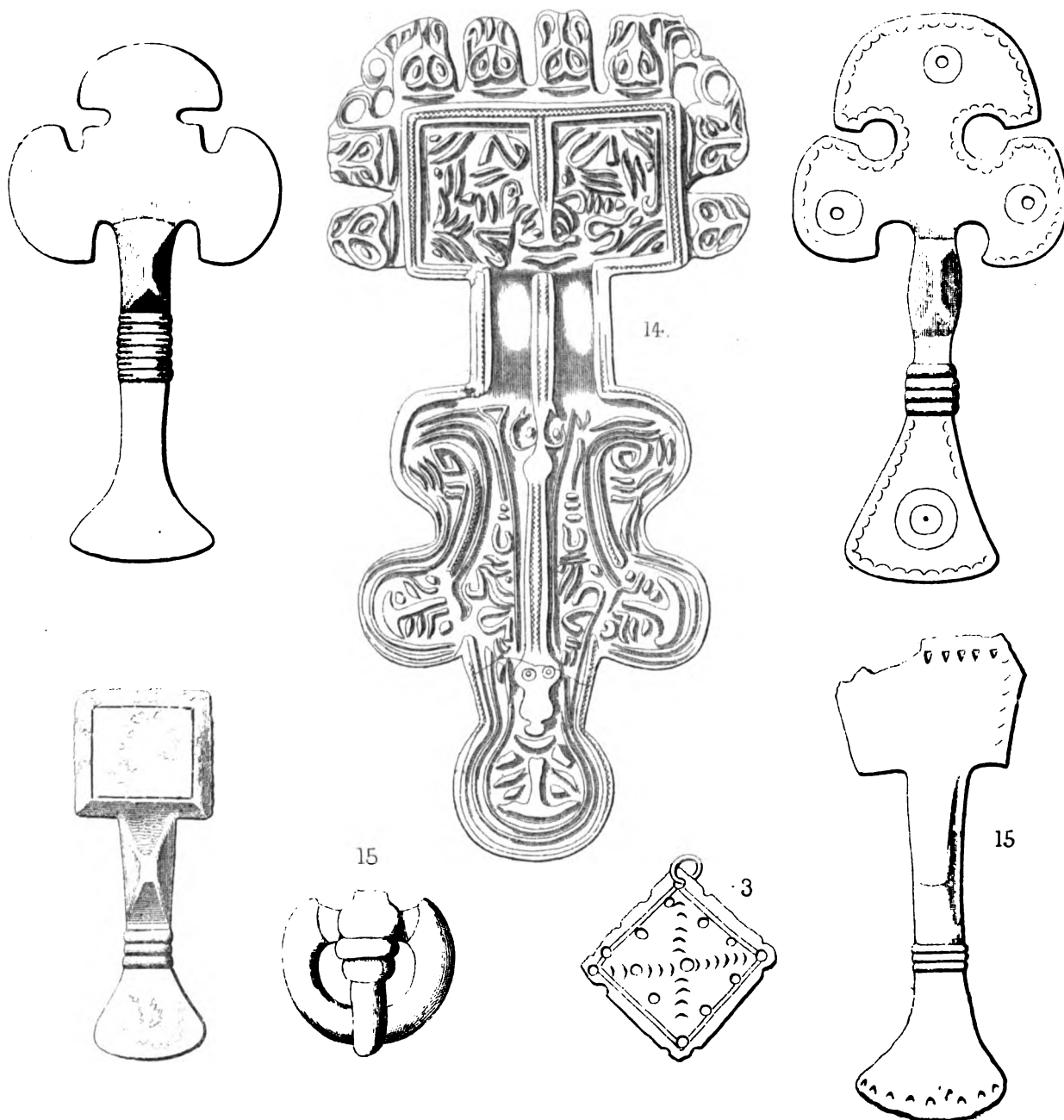
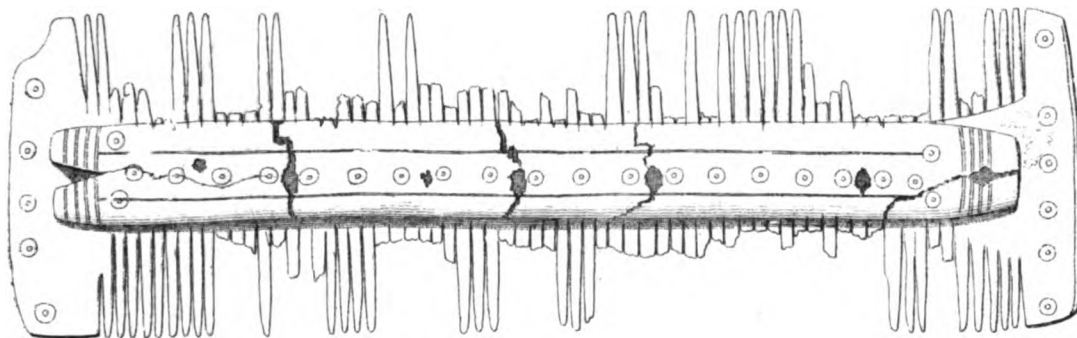
The evidence of the Roman authors who touch on Britain goes to prove that the common weapon of the Britons was a short spear or dart,* and their defence a small shield, which they may have continued to use under the Romans, and after A.D. 410, under their own governments.

When sepulchral remains of the same character as these are discovered, it

* This probably had a strap attached to recover it by, as many used by the tribes of Africa, Asia, and America. The description of the Gaulish arms in Diodorus does not agree with this. Cæsar's *Commentaries*, iv. 22, i. 24 and 29.



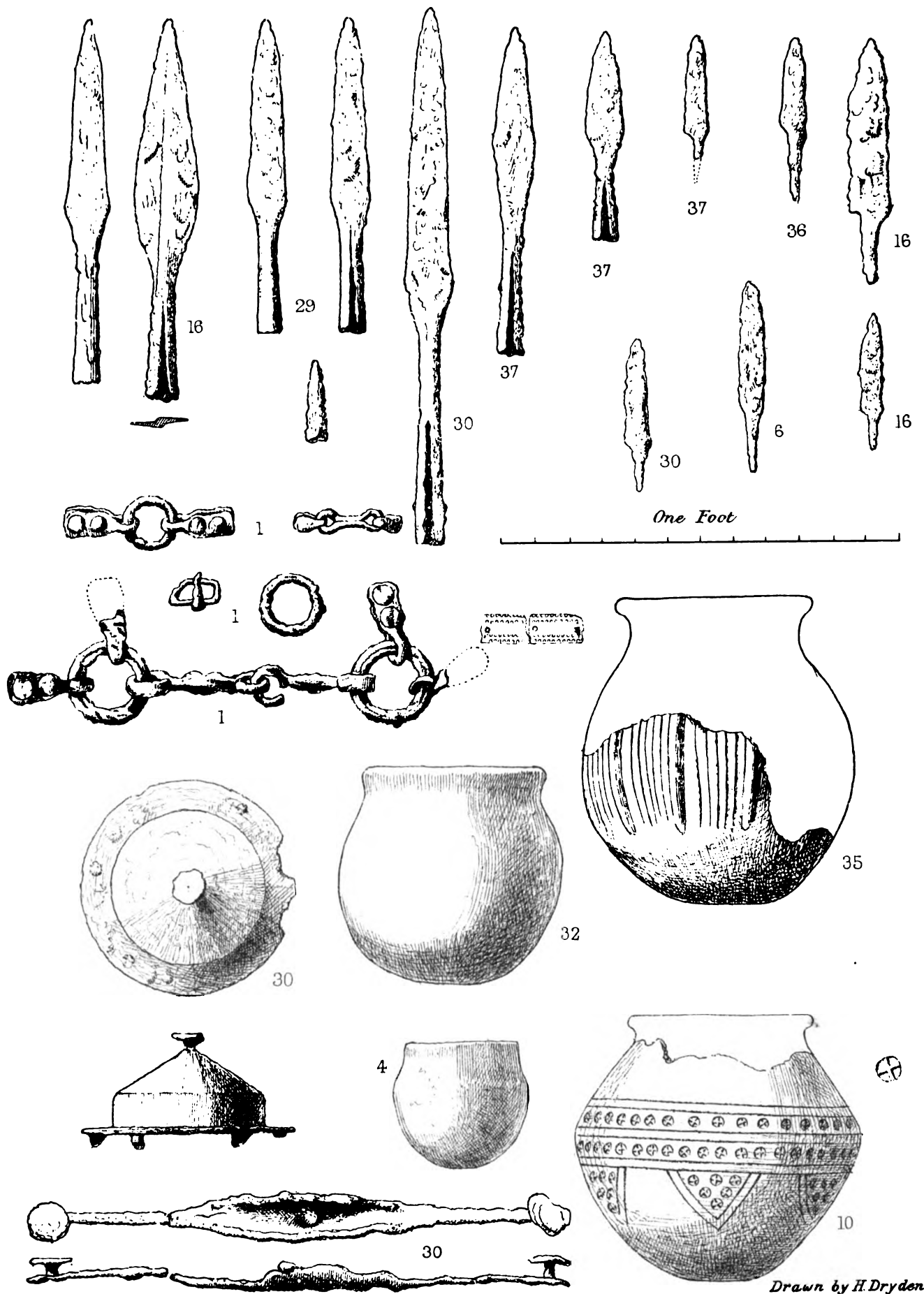
Personal Ornaments found at Marston St. Lawrence, Northamptonshire.



Comb, Fibulae, etc. found at Marston S.^t Lawrence, Northamptonshire.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. — 1834.

J. B. Birch sculp.



OBJECTS FOUND AT MARSTON ST LAWRENCE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.

almost invariably happens that the weapons found are spear-heads, and the bosses of shields are also very frequent. The weapons which the Saxons commonly used has been decided by antiquaries to be a long broad-bladed sword with an obtuse point, specimens of which may be seen in Mr. C. Roach Smith's collection, in Mr. Rolfe's, Sir S. Meyrick's, and in some others. Tacitus, in speaking of the Caledonians (whom he says were of German origin) at the battle with Agricola, states that they used long unwieldy swords blunt at the point. This kind of sword is not often found in barrows.

By about A.D. 100 it is probable that the Britons had somewhat assimilated themselves to the Romans in dress and in their habits of life, and their arts would, of course, be improved by imitation of the Roman manufactures. They continued under the Romans till 410, and under governments of their own full one hundred and forty years longer; for, though the Saxons were invited to assist them in 449, yet they did not reach the centre of England till 556, and were not established there till 586. It appears that in 660 this part of England had become Christian, and I find no evidence to prove that the Saxons burnt their dead after their conversion to Christianity. In the eighth century they began to bury in churchyards and churches. We have therefore at least a period of 480 years for interments by Romanized Britons and only eighty for those of the Pagan Saxons.

I shall now briefly recapitulate the evidence adduced. These remains taken collectively resemble neither those of the Celts, Britons, or Romans; but in some points they agree with the British and in others with the Roman. The system of interments is opposite to that of the Romans, but wherever remains of this class are discovered the coins (if any are found) are Roman and commonly of the Lower Empire. On the other hand I have shown that these remains differ essentially from those found in a barrow which contained Saxon coins, not perforated, and in good condition, that they are more frequent than any except undoubted Roman, and that the time during which Roman-British interments took place was 480 years; whilst the Saxons existed in a Pagan state only eighty years in the Midland counties. If these burials are of Pagan Saxons there remains the interesting question,—What has become of the remains of the British population in the Midland counties during about 480 years?

XVI.—*On the Carved Bench Ends in All Saints Church, Trull, near Taunton, Somerset. Communicated by JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B., F.S.A.; with Remarks, in a Letter from JOHN THOMAS MICKLETHWAITE, Esq., F.S.A., to HENRY SALUSBURY MILMAN, Esq., M.A., Director, and an Historical Note by the Director.*

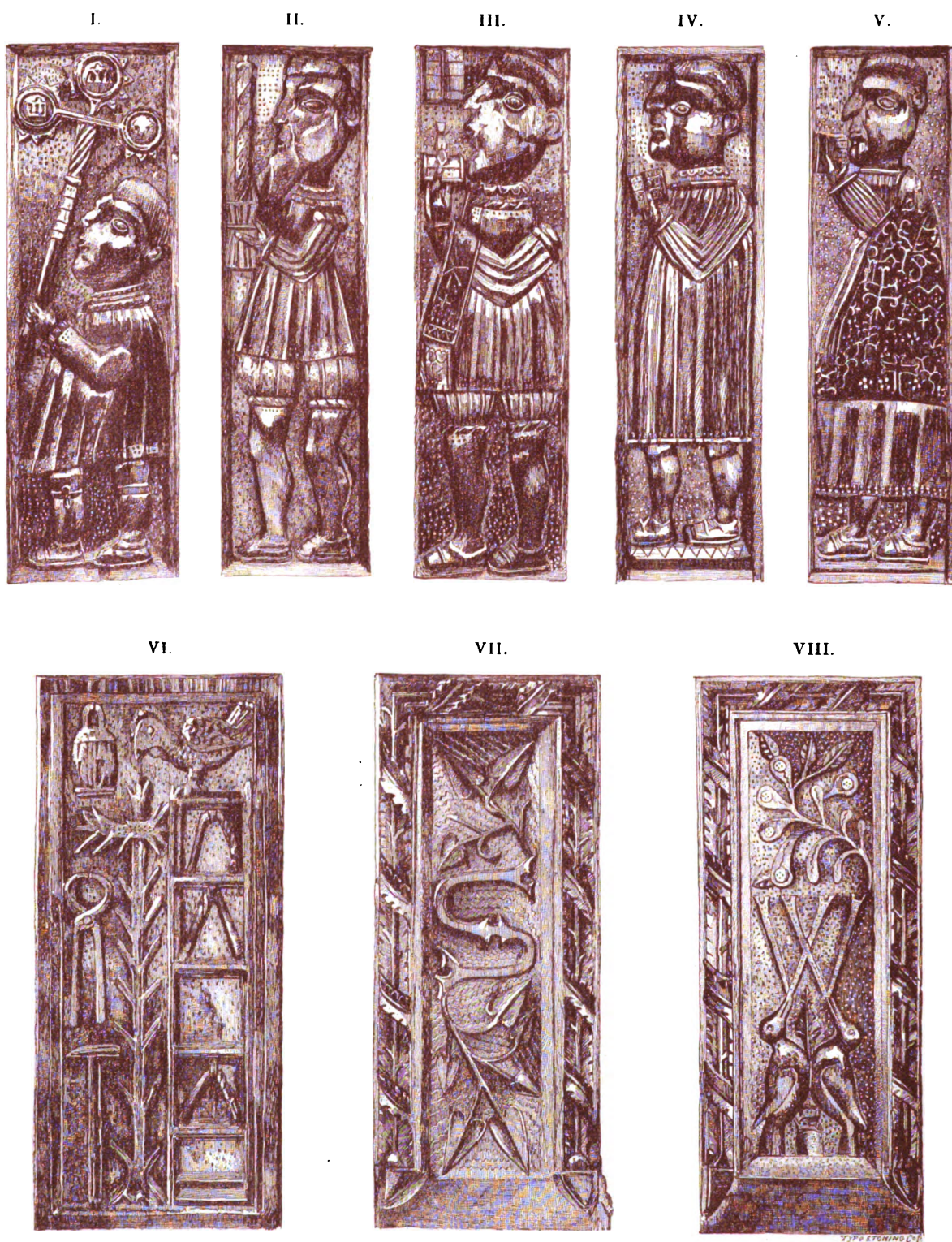
Read June 29, 1882.

THE Church of All Saints, at Trull, near Taunton, in Somersetshire, consists of a chancel with chapels on either side, a nave with aisles, a south porch, and a tower at the west end of the nave; and the present building, although probably begun in the days of Henry VI., or even earlier, seems not to have been finished before 1560, which date occurs on some of the woodwork of the church. In consequence, if one excepts the tower, the whole building is, in style, Perpendicular. There is no chancel-arch, but a wooden rood-screen with a richly-vaulted overhanging canopy divides the chancel from the nave.

The east window of the chancel is of three lights, with ordinary Perpendicular tracery, and is still in happy possession of most of its old stained glass. In the centre light the Crucifixion, and in the side lights the Blessed Virgin and S. John are figured on a background of quarry glass in grisaille.

The wooden pulpit is apparently of the same date as the screen, and under five richly carved canopies upheld by angels, the following five saints stand in shallow niches, viz. S. John the Evangelist, and S. Gregory the Great, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and S. Augustin—the four great doctors of the Latin Church.

The Bench Ends, however, of the nave seats are the great curiosity of the church, as on five of them is a series of figures which undoubtedly form a procession. Some of these bench ends were found under the pulpit in 1862, and when replaced their proper sequence may not have been followed, and perchance some are lost.



BENCH ENDS IN TRULL CHURCH, CO. SOMERSET.

Description of the Bench Ends.

No. I. The first figure represents a boy bearing a processional cross of ordinary fifteenth-century form, having three circles at the extremities,—and the stem for a short distance is of the “screw” pattern. The cross appears to be of metal, excepting the portion which the bearer holds in his hand, which would probably be wood. The boy has on a very short alb or cotta, and the stockings on his legs are shown with garters tied below the knee.

No. II. The second figure is that of a man with a beard; he bears a large candle in his hand, his costume is characteristic of the period and scarcely seems ecclesiastical, the breeches are striped, fastened up well above the knee, and what looks more like an ordinary coat of the period over it than any ecclesiastical dress. There is a little frillwork visible round the neck.

No. III. The third figure (a deacon) carries a reliquary; over his arm hangs a stole or possibly a maniple; it is richly ornamented. His costume again appears to be secular, as he has on striped or perhaps slashed breeches, fastened by garters above the knees; and a coat with a handsome collar to it, which does not appear to be an ecclesiastical garment.

No. IV. Then comes the priest bearing the gospels. He has on an alb larger than the deacon's.

No. V. The next is a priest in a cope carrying a book. The cope is richly embroidered and does not descend so low as the knees; below it is seen the alb with a fringe descending nearly to the ankles.

All the figures wear shoes, and are enclosed in plain moulded frames.

No. VI. On the next bench end, within a plain moulded border, are some of the Instruments of the Crucifixion. The cross is made like a tree, with projecting branches up each side, and also projections from the ends of the cross-piece; on the left above the cross-piece, the lantern suspended by a handle, below it successively the pincers and the hammer, all characteristically carved. On the right is the ladder having six rungs, surmounted by the cock. In three stages of the ladder is repeated an object not clear, but looking like a scourge.

No. VII. A carved border with Henry VIII. scroll-work, having the letter “S” in the centre, and arrowhead leaves as ornamentation above and below it.

No. VIII. A similar border, but having the letter “W” in the centre, held up by two birds, their long beaks forming the two inner lines of the “W.”

At the back of the furthest seat is a series of eight ornamented panels with the pattern usually called the linen pattern, and considered characteristic of the time of Henry VIII. Above these are two lines of inscriptions—the upper one: “JOHN WAYE CLARKE HERE”—the other “SIMON WARMAN MAKER OF THIS WORKE ANO DNI 1560”: and on one of the bench ends not figured here is the sacred monogram of the Holy Name with the usual contraction, under which is conventional foliage and fruit somewhat in the form of a fleur-de-lis.

While the above description was being prepared for the press the Director received the following valuable remarks on the subject:—

DEAR MR. DIRECTOR,

I have read over Mr. Parker's description of the carvings at Trull which you have sent me; and, as I do not altogether agree with his interpretation of the figures on the pews, I venture to send you my own account of them.

The great interest of the carvings is the light they throw on the ritual usages of a small parish church in the middle of the sixteenth century. We know pretty well what the services in cathedral collegiate and abbey churches were like, and we also know something of the usages in large parish churches, to which many priests were attached, and in which the chief services were performed, if not with the solemn state which surrounded them in the abbeys and colleges, at least with a great deal of magnificence. But things must have been very different in humble parish churches served only by the parson and one clerk. In days when men travelled little, and the interest of their lives was at home, the parish church was to them far more than it can be now. It was the centre of all their common life, social as well as religious; and, as we know that they did their utmost, according to their means, to adorn its fabric, so we may be sure that they also did what they could for the services. Now, with our English service, and every child taught to read, such a work is comparatively easy, but in the Middle Ages there could be no volunteer choir of laymen in village churches. But what men could do then they did, and here in these carvings we have a most quaint record of what was itself, without doubt, a most quaint function, to wit, the ordinary Sunday procession of a small parish church.

It is unfortunate that the pews have been moved, so that we cannot be

certain in what order the figures stood. I should also like to know whether all the ends are accounted for, because, if none are missing, there is at least one remarkable omission in the procession, to be mentioned soon.

The order for the carvings which has been suggested is a probable one, so I keep to it in the following description of them :—

No. 1 represents a boy carrying a cross. The cross is conventionally represented, and shows only three roundels, whilst the original probably had four. It seems to have been of the same type as that in the possession of the Society, and described in *Proceedings*, 2d S. vol. viii. p. 541. The roundels bear devices which might possibly be made out from the carving, but I cannot do so from the photograph. The boy wears a short, close-sleeved surplice, of a form which seems to have been much used by clerks in parish churches, and which we find called sometimes a surplice and sometimes a rochet. It was more convenient for those who had to use their arms than the full-sleeved surplice and less expensive both in first cost and in use than the albe, which was used by clerks when ministering in collegiate and monastic services. The surplice reaches to the knees, and there is some sort of ornament, either lace or embroidery, shown round the bottom and at the wrist. There is also a frill at the wrist, and a small ruff round the neck. All the other surplices to be described have the ruff showing above. The use of the ruff by surpliced choirs seems to have been common at a date somewhat later than these carvings, and it is even now kept up in some cathedral churches. I have seen it at Ripon, and, I think, at York. Below our cross-bearer's surplice appear a pair of sturdy gartered legs and square-toed shoes.

No. 2 is the torch-bearer. He is bearded and wears slashed trunk-hose and shoes, and a surplice of the same form as that worn by the boy, and also of the same size as his, so that it only reaches to the man's hips. But it clearly is a surplice, and not a coat or doublet as some have thought. The torch is not a candle, but is twisted, and carried in a short torch-holder.

No. 3 is dressed exactly like the last except that his trunk-hose are not slashed, and he has a maniple on his left wrist. I think that the maniple would not be used without the surplice or some such vestment, and that its presence confirms that of the other. I am not quite certain whether this or No. 4 should come first. No. 3 is probably intended to represent a man in orders, but can scarcely be a deacon, or I think that, even in this collection, he would have had a cassock or gown to cover his trunk-hose. He carries what may either be a reliquary or

a chrismatory, probably the former, unless the procession is intended to be that to the font at Eastertide.

No. 4 is a man in a surplice of the same general form as the others, but longer and reaching to the knees. He holds an open book, from which he appears to be singing. This might be a deacon or a second priest.

No. 5 is the parson himself. He wears a short albe or long sleeved surplice reaching to the calf of the leg, and over it a singularly short cope. No hood or orphrey appears, but the material is plainly shown to be figured velvet, and on looking at it one feels almost convinced that the original must have been red. The arms are thrust out in a strange and almost impossible way above the front band of the cope, and they hold up an open book as in No. 4.

All the figures except No. 2 are beardless, and none has any cap or other covering for the head. It will be noticed that neither holy water nor incense is shown. The omission of the latter need not much surprise us, though it might have been expected to be used where so much was spent on the furniture of the church as was here, but that of the former is curious, seeing that the sprinkling was the first purpose of the procession. If we have all the ends one might be tempted to believe that the carvings are of Elizabeth's time, after the use of holy water had been given up; the costumes may well be as late as this, and the only date about is 1560.

There need not be much said about the other carvings. The five figures in the pulpit are certainly St. John the Evangelist and the four Latin doctors, and St. Gregory is lucky in not having had his head knocked off. I think the slender cross on the pew-end with the Instruments of the Passion is intended for the reed. Even if there were not another end with more of the instruments the absence of the cross need not surprise us. The crown of thorns is also wanting. The "W" on another pew is not made by the prolongation of the beaks of the birds, but is held up by the birds with their beaks.

Altogether this is one of the most curious collections of old church furniture I have met with, and it is to be hoped that it will be properly taken care of, and above all things not "restored."

I remain, dear Mr. Director,

Yours very truly,

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE.

15, Dean's Yard, June 13, 1884.

History of Trull.

Mr. J. H. Parker, after the reading of his Paper, favoured the Society with a set of references to books and MSS. bearing upon the history of Trull, and so enabled the Director to add the following note :—

Trull is one of a class of benefices, the history of which is such that their names do not appear in early ecclesiastical records.

A group of obscure villis or townships became, under the comprehensive name of the manor which overshadowed them, parts of the endowment of a religious house. When one of these had grown sufficiently in population and importance, the religious corporation built a chapel therein, and appointed a chaplain to perform the divine offices for the inhabitants, and in course of time made the appointment perpetual, and annexed thereto a fixed stipend. Then came, by the dissolution of the monasteries, the release of villis or chapelries from superior ecclesiastical corporations and their annexation to the Crown. Thenceforward the Crown granted out the tithes of every vill by its name. According to the nature of the grant or subsequent arrangements the vill or chapelry became a parish, which, in respect of tithes, was a wholly ecclesiastical rectory, or a lay rectory and ecclesiastical vicarage combined.

The earliest known notices of Trull are of the year 27 Hen. VIII. 153 $\frac{1}{2}$, in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. i. p. 170.

The possessions of Taunton Priory are found to include—

Exitus decimarum garbarum de Corffe Pitmyster et *Trull* cum oblacionibus et aliis casualibus ibidem, xij^{li} iij^s v^d.

Exitus decimarum garbarum de *Trulle* cum oblacionibus et aliis casualibus ibidem, vj^{li} ix^d.

The allowances from the Priory for stipends of chaplains comprise—

Johanni Sabbyn capellano de *Trull*, vi^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d.

In 30 Hen. VIII. 153 $\frac{3}{4}$, the possessions of the Priory passed to the Crown.

In the account given (31 Hen. VIII. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$) by the king's officers of the estates then lately belonging to the Priory of Taunton, which account is printed by the editors of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1830, vol. vi. p. 167, occurs this entry :—

Trull. Firma rectorie, xv^{li}.

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2 Y

The Crown by lease, under seal of the Court of Augmentations, dated 21 Dec. 31 Hen. VIII. 1539, demised to James Dyer, gentleman, the "rectory" of Trull with its rights, &c. and all tithes and profits belonging to the same "rectory" and chapel (except those tithes of sheaves of Ham Wood and Cerne Haye, parcels of the said "rectory" of Trull, which were then in lease under the same court to John Smythe), to hold from Michaelmas then last past for 21 years, at a rent of 8*l*.

The history of Trull, in its new character as a lay rectory with a chapel, may be traced further down by means of the following Letters Patent:—

34 Hen. VIII. Pt. 11, m. 13 (20) [in which the above-mentioned lease is recited], 36 Hen. VIII. Pt. 21, and 2 Ed. VI. Pt. 4.

Mr. J. H. Parker caused searches to be made in the parish registers, in the episcopal registers at Wells from 1523 to 1581, and in the duplicates of these Wells registers at Lambeth Palace, hoping to find mention of Trull and the names of vicars during that period, but without success. It was said at Trull that in the time of Cromwell the bench ends were buried under the pulpit lest they should be destroyed, and that they were found only a few years ago and replaced.

XVII.—*On Ibberton Church, Dorsetshire, and the Painted Glass remaining there. Communicated by FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT, Esq., in Two Letters to EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., V.P.S.A.*

Read February 2, 1882.

Winchester, January 17, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. FRESHFIELD,

In directing your attention to the accompanying* drawing I am not unmindful of the enthusiasm with which the late Mr. Charles Winston devoted himself to the study of ancient painted glass, nor the accuracy with which he transferred upon paper the beautiful colouring, character, and artistic merit of innumerable examples. I had the honour of being one of his correspondents, and he not only gave me whatever information I desired but often urged me to give attention to every example of ancient glass-painting I might come across, and to copy as much of it as was practicable. "Every little fragment of painted glass," he was wont to say, "had its value in the eyes of the student, however insignificant in itself."

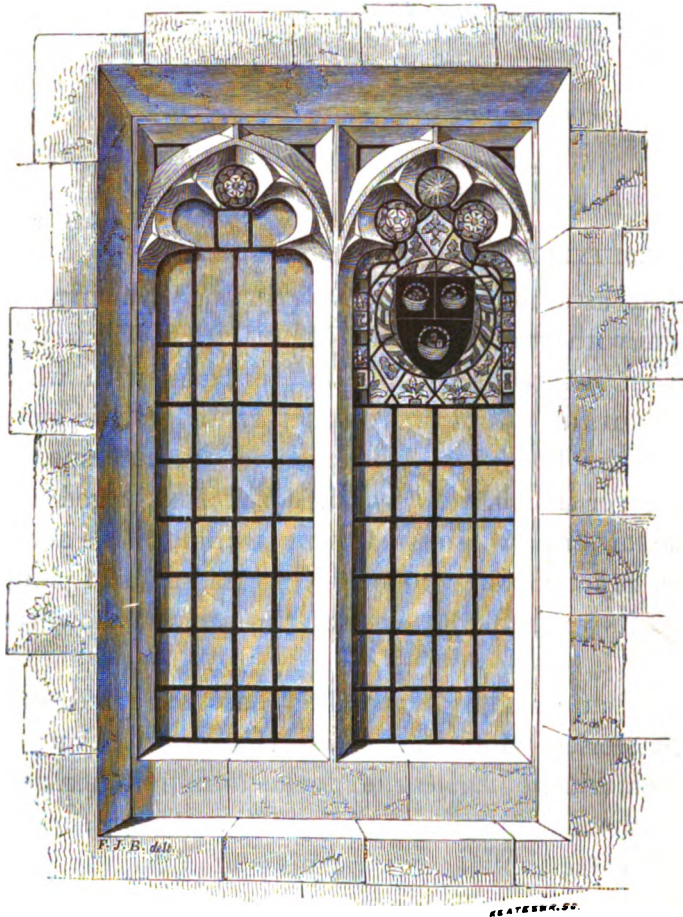
There is scarcely an example of heraldic glass, executed anterior to the dissolution of the monasteries, which is not deserving of attention; and such examples are valuable as memorials of the earlier forms and treatment of various heraldic charges, and as authentic instances of figuring, and as such they ought to be accurately copied in fac-simile. No remains of antiquity are more exposed to ruthless destruction than the fragments of painted glass in the windows of our parish churches. Of late years innumerable specimens have disappeared, in the restoration of our churches and the process of filling the windows with modern painted glass. For the preservation of the example to which I am now calling your attention we are indebted to the circumstance that Ibberton church has not yet gone through the ordeal of restoration.

The piece of painted glass represented by the accompanying Plate remains *in situ*, and forms the glazing of the upper portion and cusped heading of the western compartment of a squareheaded Perpendicular window of two lights,

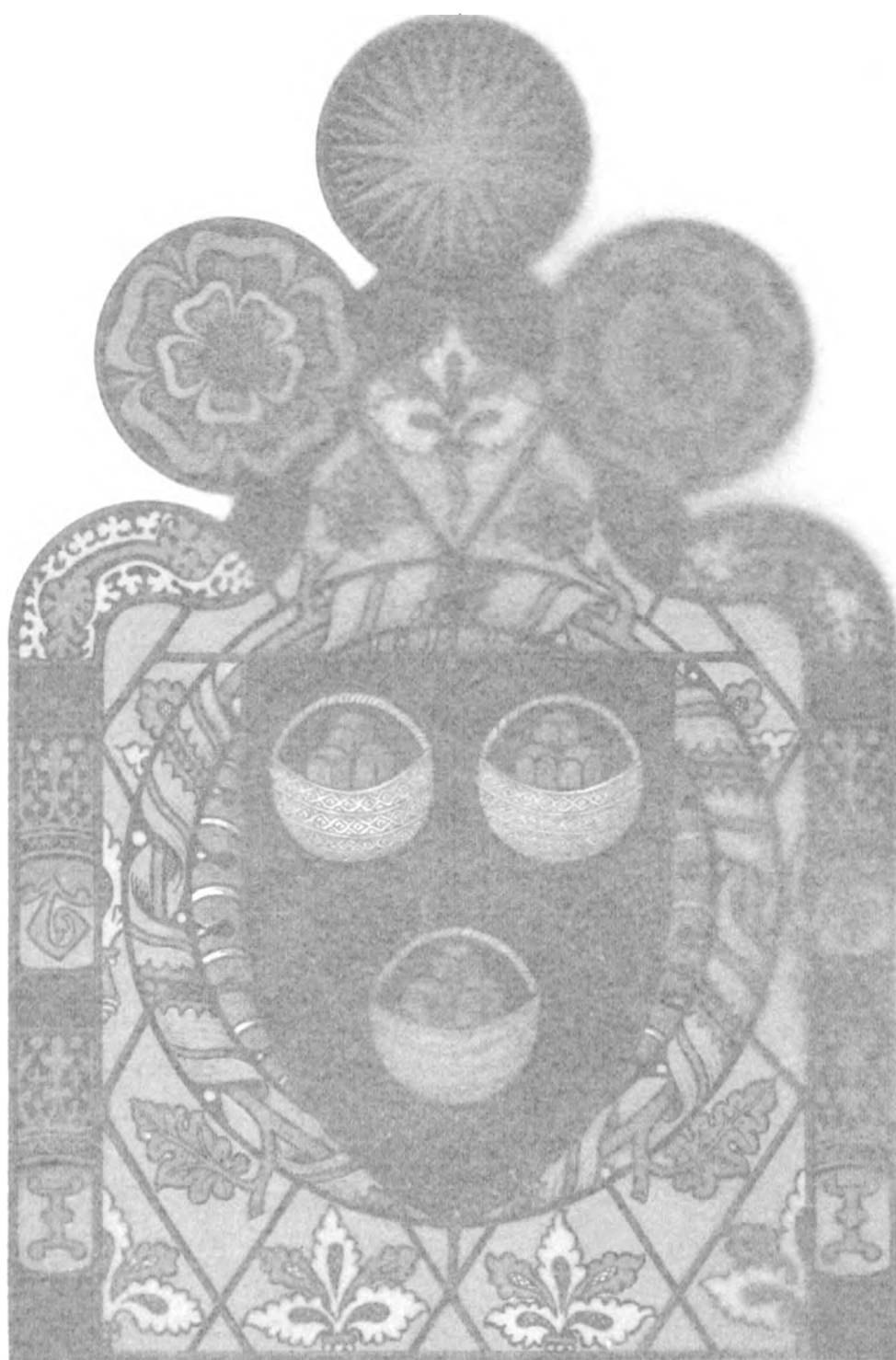
* Represented by the Plate.

the western window, in the south wall of the chancel of Ibberton church in Dorsetshire. (See fig. below.)

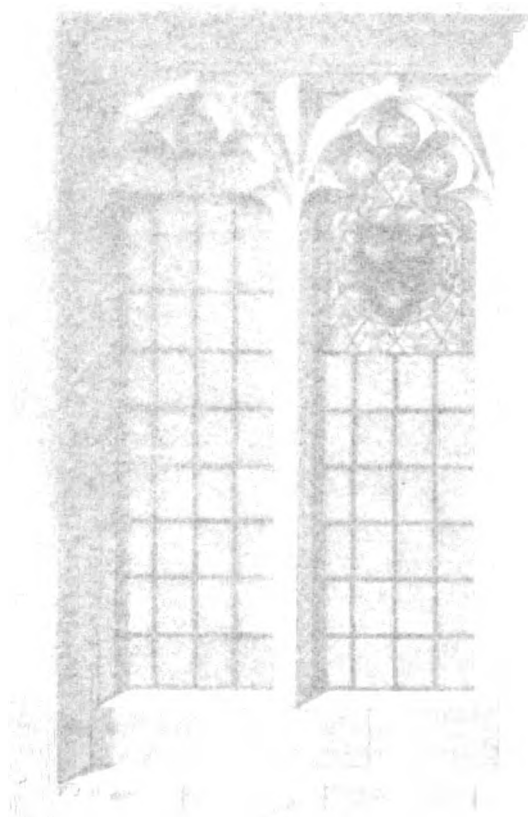
The glass occupies about one-third of the light in length. The armorial shield



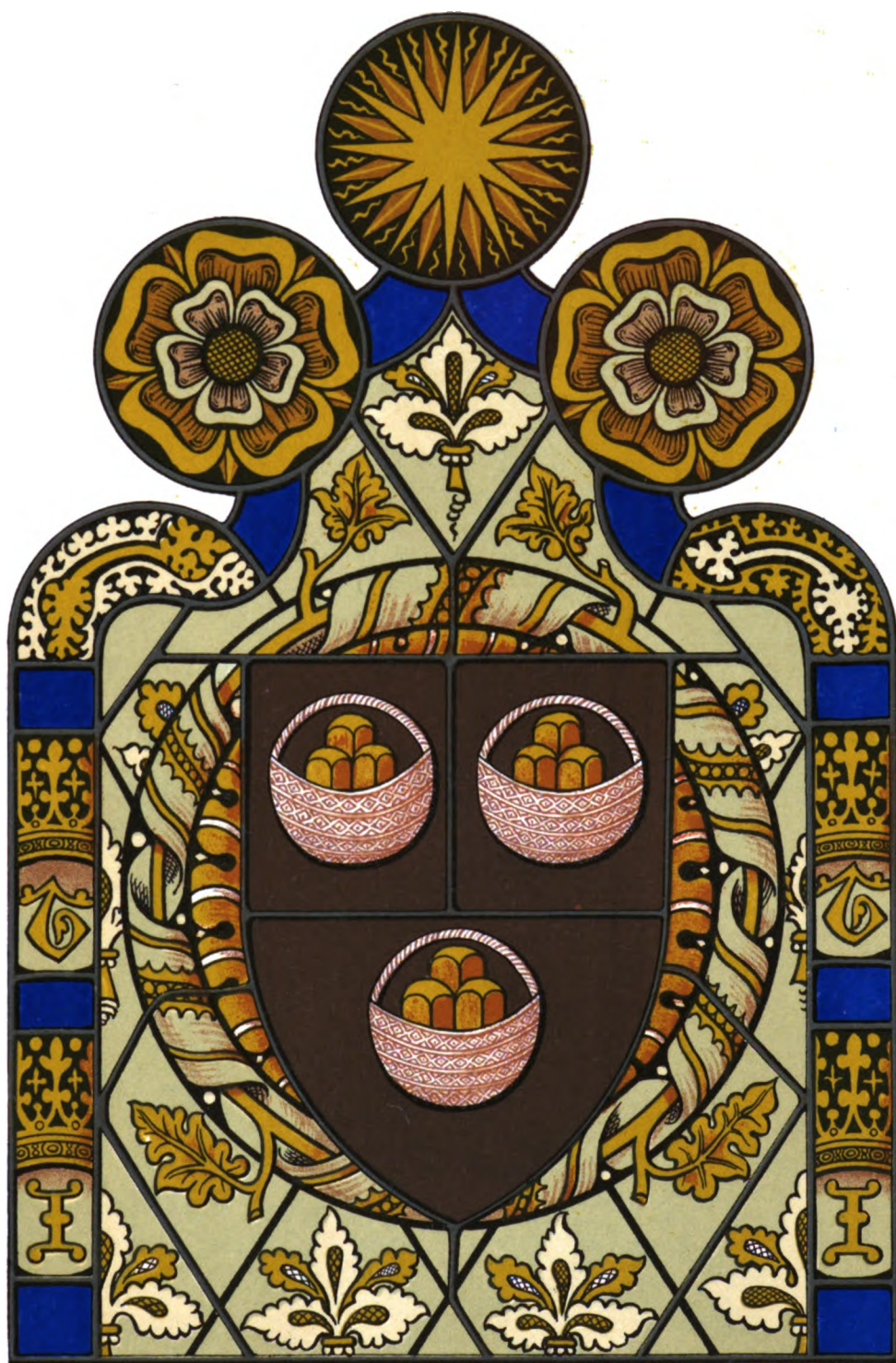
is charged with the arms of Milton Abbey. Compare this example of the arms with the representations of them given in Glover's *Ordinary of Arms* (Cott. MS. Tib. D. x; Harl. MSS. 1392, 1459) and in Reyner's *Apostol. Benedict. in Anglia*, 1626, p. 216 (the latter being the original of that given in Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, 1744, p. xlv. No. xxxvii.) The blazon is almost invariably written or figured wrongly,—for instance, in the recent restoration of the Abbey arms in the Abbot's Hall the baskets are gilt as well as the loaves; and in Burke's *General Armory* the baskets and loaves are given as *argent*; and it is the



THE ALTAR OF THE TRINITY CHURCH
NEW YORK CITY



The window is a fine example of Gothic architecture, with its tall, narrow panes and decorative tracery. The central mullion and the grid pattern within the panes are particularly notable. The stone frame around the window is also well-crafted, with pointed arches and a central shield-like motif. The overall appearance is one of elegance and historical significance.



F.J. Bagot, del. 1882.

One third of the size of the original glass.

PAINTED GLASS. IBBERTON CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.

C.F. Kell, lith.

same in Papworth's *Ordinary of Arms*. The well-known Abbey church of Milton Abbas lies about five miles south-east of Ibberton. The monks of Milton Abbey were owners of the adjoining manor and chapelry of Wolland, but in the parish of Ibberton they held no property or rights of any kind: therefore, we must attribute the delineation of this coat of arms in this window to the probable circumstance that the Abbey gave some assistance towards the rebuilding of the church, and that the glass commemorates them as benefactors to the fabric.

The window containing this glass is one of a series of five windows of a similar pattern, design, and proportion. Two of these windows are in the south wall of the chancel, and two in the south wall of the nave, and the remaining one in the north wall of the nave. They were all filled originally with painted glass of the same date, style, and workmanship as regards the cusplings, borders, and quarry patterns. This is evident from the slight fragments of the original glazing remaining in them.

Having said this much, by way of introduction, I now proceed to give a descriptive account of the drawing or fac-simile of the painted glass.

The upper cusping or circle represents a well-drawn star of twelve points, backed with rays alternately straight and flamboyant. In each of the side cusplings is a boldly executed double rose, seeded, the outer leaves yellow and the inner ones white. Small pieces of blue glass are inserted as an ornamental part of the border, breaking up as it were the monotony of the yellow and white glass used throughout the design, contrasting advantageously with the large sable shield in the centre.

In the curve of the under or half-cusping is a leafed pattern in yellow and white, worked out by the means of a dark brown background. Between the intervening pieces of blue glass in the border on either side are strips of glass with the initials T. and I., each surmounted by a lofty crown. These initials were no doubt repeated all down the border of the glass, and were intended to be read upwards, from the foot of the window to the cusping, consequently as I. T., and thus to correspond with the name I am about to give. These letters I have no doubt are intended to represent the initials of John Towninge, who was instituted to the rectory of Ibberton on the 14th of March, 1452, and resigned it in November 1478; and that the church was rebuilt during his incumbency. Centred within the border is a pointed shield with the arms of Milton Abbey, *Sable, three baskets argent, each replenished with as many loaves or*. They are in some

instances termed *Wastell cakes*. Wastell bread was well-baked white bread, and the loaves represented are intended to indicate loaves baked in a square mould. Around the shield in a circular form is a white scroll or ribbon gracefully entwined about a yellow stem with sprouting leaves, a yellow-leafed pattern filling up the spaces between the shield and the inner portion of the circle. The remaining spaces without the encircling scroll are filled up with what is termed quarry glass; each lozenge-shaped compartment has a white and yellow leaf device of a conventional pattern banded and united in the stem. Where the lead-work does not occur to form the bordering of the quarries, a dark brown line is given of a corresponding thickness, an imitation, as it were, of the ordinary leading. It may be noted that the glass border is fitted close into the stone-work of the window.

In the eastern light of this window the double rose is given in the upper cusping, and I presume the star occupied the side cuspings. Another example of the star remains in the western window in the south wall of the nave in the centre cusping. The opposite window in the north wall of the nave has in its cuspings a tall crown in the centre one, and the rose on either side, with the leafed border pattern under its lower cusps, and the small pieces of blue glass, showing that it was originally filled with glass of the same design as the fragment now remaining in the chancel window. Several squares of the quarry pattern remain here and there in the windows, and in some instances the pattern is almost obliterated by the action of time and imperfect burning in the kiln.

Ibberton is about six or seven miles from Blandford, and five miles from the Shillingstone station of the Somerset and Dorset Railway. The church lies to the south of the village, and about a quarter of a mile from it. It stands in an elevated position upon the side of a steep hill. Its low and lengthened roofs, terminated at the west end by a grey stone-embattled tower without pinnacles, with a square projecting staircase-turret breaking the line of its northern front, backed by the rising hill and the green foliage of several lofty trees, gives it a very picturesque appearance from a distance, and it becomes even more so the nearer it is approached by the steep and winding lane which leads to it from the village. The church was evidently erected, as has been already mentioned, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the windows in the walls of the chancel and nave being of the same date and pattern, and distinguished by the peculiar form of the termination of the hood moulding. It consists of a chancel and a nave, a north chancel and aisle. The nave still retains its ancient roofing of lead which

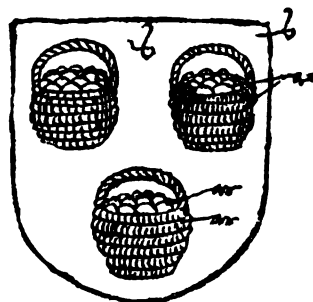
western one of the three is close to the west wall and is of three lights, squareheaded (seventeenth-century work). In this window are two heraldic quarries, and on another is the date 1588. The centre window is also of three lights, with cusped headings; the third window is of two lights, similar to the windows in the south wall of the nave. In this window are some remains of Elizabethan glass, consisting of the royal arms with the lion and dragon as supporters in the western light, and a double rose red and white with the initials E. R. (Elizabetha Regina) within an oval-shaped ornamental border, in the eastern one. The eastern or chancel part of the aisle has no window in the north wall, but at its eastern end close to the east wall is a narrow doorway, inserted in its present position, probably at the time the present north wall of the aisle was erected (in the sixteenth century). It is now used as the entrance to the aisle, for the accommodation of the inhabitants of the farms known as Leigh and Marsh, the pews assigned to them being situated in the aisle. In the east wall is a squareheaded window of three lights, with cusped headings of the same design and date as the side windows of the chancel and nave.

The eastern wall of the aisle is in a line with the east end of the chancel, but the western wall does not extend to the end of the nave, there being the window below in the north wall of the nave, as before mentioned; but it encroaches close upon the east side of the window. The aisle is traditionally reported to have been built from materials brought from Milton Abbas after the dissolution of the abbey. This is not unlikely, as its central window is of the same character as the windows of the great hall of the abbey, built by Abbot William Middleton, who ruled the abbey from 1481 to 1525.

I am, yours sincerely,

FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT.

From Glover's
Cott. MS.



Ordinary of Arms,
Tib. D. x.

*The Arms of the
Abbot of Middleton.*

MY DEAR MR. FRESHFIELD,

Winchester, January 23rd, 1882.

I thank you for your letter. The enclosed sheet contains, I think, all the additional particulars you wish to know.

The two heraldic quarries from the window of the north aisle of Ibberton church belong to the seventeenth century. The date 1588, which I have mentioned as existing on another quarry, refers to the period of the insertion of the glass representing the royal arms, &c. in another window of the aisle. The glass of the two heraldic quarries probably formed no part of the original glazing of the window, and are to be regarded as later insertions. It will be observed the quarries vary in shape and size. The border edging in one instance (Fig. 1) shows

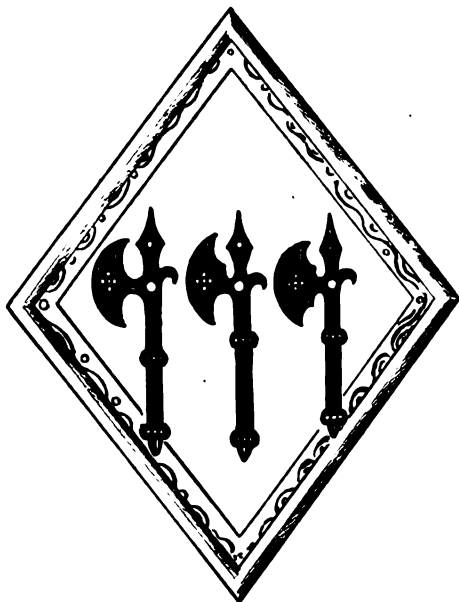


Fig. 1.

(Scale half-size.)



Fig. 2.

that the lead-work follows its original dimensions, but in the other (Fig. 2) the piece of glass has been cut away to fit the shape and size of the lead-work arrangement of the window, and it is placed in a reversed position, the pointed end of the shield being uppermost. I have not succeeded in identifying the coat of arms on the latter quarry. In Hutchins's *History of Dorset* (first edition, 1774) it is blazoned inaccurately as *Or, a fess sable between three mullets in a border engrailed argent, a crescent or*. In the last edition (1871) it is given as *Or, a fess argent between three mullets in a border engrailed sable, a crescent gules*. The crescent retains not the slightest trace of colouring. This piece of glass may be Dutch or German, the shape, bordure, and charges of the shield not resembling English heraldry.

The lozenge-shaped coat of the three battle-axes may be intended for the arms of Frances Gibbs (daughter of Thomas Gibbs, of Watergate, co. Warwick), whose half-sister, Anne Dimock, married Sir Walter Erle, of Charborough, Dorset. (See arms and pedigree in the Harleian Society's volume of the *Visitation of London*, 1623, vol. i. p. 313.) She died 26th January, 1653, and was buried at Exmouth, Devon. The same arms, within a border *ermine*, are assigned to the family of Gibbes, of South Perot, in Dorsetshire, and a pedigree of them is given in the Dorset Visitation of 1623.

In the west window of the tower of the church is a piece of glass of the latter end of the fifteenth century, representing one of the four evangelistic emblems, the winged lion with a scroll containing the word *Marcus*.

In the upper part of the east window of the chancel are inserted some re-leaded fragments of painted glass of the fifteenth century, consisting of portions of pinnacles and borders, cut up into strips. Hutchins states in his *History of Dorset* (first edition, 1774), that in this "window of the chancel were painted many images of saints (among which was that of St. Eustacius) in several ranges, which were all destroyed some years since."

I recollect seeing in Sherborne Abbey Church, on the north side of the nave, a large stone shield representing the arms of Milton Abbey. The baskets were of the same shape as they are given upon the painted glass in Ibberton church. I enclose you some rough tracings I have just made of the shields I have mentioned, so that you may see how differently the baskets are shaped. In the last edition of Hutchins's *History of Dorset* (1871) each of the battle-axes represented upon the glass quarry are mentioned as *charged with a crosslet or*, whereas they are only ornamented with five gilt spots or studs, disposed in the form of a cross, and are no more deserving of attention in the blazoning of the coat than the gilt bosses on the bands of the handles, or the two yellow spots higher up.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT.

P.S.—Ibberton affords another instance of the loss of parish registers in recent years. When Hutchins wrote his *History of Dorset* the registers extended back to 1564. The only register now extant anterior to the year 1800 is a small book containing the entries of baptisms from 1761 to 1799, and three burials, two in 1777 and one in 1778.

XVIII.—*Remarks on the Gryphon, Heraldic and Mythological.* Communicated
by ROBERT BROWN, JUN. Esq., F.S.A.

Read February 15, 1883.

I.—THE HERALDIC GRYPHON.

THE science of heraldry has faithfully preserved to modern times various phases of some of those remarkable legends, which, based upon an accurate study of natural phenomena, exhibit the process whereby the greater part of mythology has come into existence. There we find the lunar Unicorn, the wild, white, fierce, chaste moon, whose two horns, unlike those of mortal creatures, are indissolubly twisted into one, a most remarkable myth, which I have recently fully considered;* and there, also, as in every department of ancient thought, the solar power is fully represented. I now propose to examine, briefly, the ancient and widely-spread heraldic myth of the Gryphon.

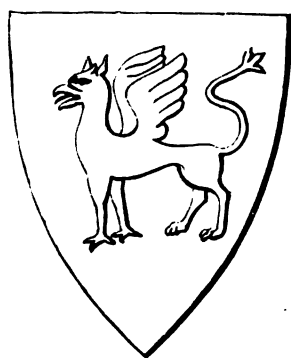
It is not necessary for me in the present state of science to refute the opinion that such a concept as the Gryphon was the result of capricious fancy and arbitrary invention. We are now aware that every ancient and widely-spread myth or legend rests upon a solid basis of fact, which, however, may or may not be historical; and that archaic ideas connected with natural phenomena, though often exceedingly obscure to us on account of our ignorance of the particular standpoint of early thinkers, are, notwithstanding their sometimes bizarre presentation, invariably distinguished by a really great simplicity, being natural impressions drawn by an analogy, often indeed erroneous but to them obvious, from still simpler and more immediate experiences. We are, of course, also aware that the Gryphon, the Unicorn, and various other charges had existed in idea for centuries prior to the organization of heraldry as a formal system, their adoption in which was due to their previous notoriety and renown. Although in later instances the Gryphon at times is blazoned *argent* or even *sable*, yet, as might be expected, *or* is his proper tincture. Thus we find that “a male Griffin is distinguished by two straight horns rising from the forehead, and *rays of gold* which issue from various

* Vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Unicorn, a Mythological Investigation* (Longmans, 1881).

parts of the body;"^a and so, as will further appear, represents the horned and radiate sun.^b In the *Roll of Karlaverok* the Gryphon appears as a charge, and is duly tinctured or :—

"Symon de Montagu,
Ke avoit banière e escu
De inde, au grifoun rampant
de or fin."

(Simon de Montagu,
Who had a banner and shield
Blue, with a griffin rampant
of fine gold.)^c



ARMS OF SIMON DE
MONTACUTE.

This, mythologically speaking, would represent the rising sun, Hyperîon, in the blue vault of heaven. As the chronicler applies the term *rampant* to the Gryphon, it was an unnecessary distinction,^d and one not much approved by Guillim,^e to employ the word *segreant* (Lat. *erectus*) in respect of this creature. The Gryphon appears in various phases in the arms of Montacute. "In the Roll in the Cottonian MS. they are thus blazoned: 'Quartile de argent e de azure; en les quarters de Azure les griffons de Or. . . The fact appears to have been that Simon de Montacute bore two coats . . . the other, *Azure*, a griffin segreant *Or*; for on the secretum to his seal is a griffin in that position.'"^f

But in another example of the arms of this same Simon the Gryphon, an excellent specimen of the combined eagle and lion, appears as *statant*.^g The following examples of this charge occur in the Roll of Edward III. :—

"Monsire de Swillington, *gules*, a une Griffin *d'argent*.
Monsire de Griffin, *sable*, a une Griffin *d'argent*, beke et pieds *d'or*.
Monsire John de Meux, port *d'azure*, a vi. Griffins *d'or*.
Monsire Oliver de With, port *d'azure*, a trois Griffins *d'or*.^h

But one of the earliest examples of the Gryphon as a charge, or at all events as a badge or cognizance, in English heraldry, occurs in the De Reviere, Redvers or Rivers family, Earls of Devon, *circ.* A.D. 1100—1245. The arms of Richard

^a Cussans, *Handbook of Heraldry*, 95.

^b Vide Robert Brown, Jun. *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 112 *et seq.* Mr. Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i. 401) gives a representation of a two-horned and bearded Bacchus, whose head with large ox-ears appears in the centre of a bronze disk, like the sun in the solar system. The artistic treatment, including the moustache, is strikingly similar to that shown in the head of a two-horned personage also forming the centre of a disc, a picture of which is given in Strahlenberg's *Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*, 1738. It is possible that these representations show a link between Etruria and the Turanian East.

^c Wright, *The Roll of Caerlaverock*, 17.

^e *Display of Heraldrie*, edit. 1660, p. 258.

^g Ap. Planché, *The Pursuivant of Arms*, 128.

^d Vide Leigh, *Accidence of Armory*, 1562, in *voc.*

^f Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Siege of Caerlaverock*, 243.

^h *Ibid.* 129.

de Redvers, who was at Senlac, and who died A.D. 1107,^a are said to have been "Gules, a griffin segreant or";^b and an excellent type of Gryphon is shown on the seal of Richard de Redvers, Earl of Exeter, A.D. 1162.^c Later examples of the heraldic employment of the Gryphon are numerous. Thus the Lord Stanley, *temp.* Edward IV., bore as a badge "A griffin's leg, erased, gold";^d and amongst the arms of native Irish families we find: "Nearns—A Griffin segreant, holding in each paw a key. Froyhins—Two Griffins combatant."^e The arms of the Finches, Earls of Nottingham and Winchelsea, were "Arg. a chevron between three Gryphons passant sa." The Honourable Society of "Grayes Inne, bear for their coat, Sable, a Griffin segreant (or rampant) or."^f The Gryphon is also frequently employed as a crest, and heralds have been good enough to supply the kingdom of the West Saxons and Cerdic its founder with arms, namely, "Gules, a Griffin segreant Or"; as S. Lucius, of Britain, "the first christened king in the world," has had with equal authority ascribed to him "Or, an eagle displayed with two heads Sa."



THE SEAL OF RICHARD
DE REDVERS.

^a Vide Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions*, ii. 45.

^b Heylyn, *Help to English History*, 1773, p. 220.

^c Vide Planché, *The Pursuivant of Arms*, 127. The pedigree of the family with notice of their Gryphon seal, etc. is given by Ellis, *Antiquities of Heraldry*, 107.

^d Planché, *The Pursuivant of Arms*, 223.

^e Ellis, *Antiquities of Heraldry*, 241, note.

^f Guillim, *Display of Heraldrie*, 401.

^g The famous heraldic double-headed eagle affords a good instance of the persistence of an established symbol. Prof. Sayce, when treating of the monuments of the Hittites, observes: "At Eyuk . . . on the eastern bank of the Halys . . . we find a representation of a double-headed eagle, which seems the prototype of the Seljukian eagle of later days" (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* vii. 250). And again, he says: "If Boghaz Keui represents the Pteria of the Greeks, it is possible that, as Longperier suggested, the city may have been symbolised by it, *pteria* being the Greek name of the *pteria aquilina*, or fern with leaves like a double eagle. However this may be, the Seljukian Sultans adopted the old symbol of the Hittites after taking possession of Kappadokia and Lykaonia in the eleventh century, and from them it was carried by the Crusaders into Europe" (*Ibid.* 263). "Herodotus expressly states that the Greeks had borrowed their helmets as well as the 'emblems' on their shields from the Karians; and the Karians, as we now know, were once subject to Hittite influences. I am tempted to see in the emblems or symbols on the shields a reminiscence of the Hittite hieroglyphics" (*Ibid.* 303-304). Thus through hundreds and even thousands of years do archaic ideas, passed on from race to race and from land to land, variant in phase, yet maintaining a true identity, continue to exist. From the non-Semitic tribes of western Central Asia, who at an early period descended into the Euphrates Valley, through Hittite and Phœnician to Greek, Turk and Crusader, is handed down a mysterious symbol, originally representing some natural analogy deduced by a childlike mind.

To meet the difficulty:—How is it that we never see a Gryphon in the flesh? it was laid down that “the Griffon, having attained his full growth, will never be taken alive;”^a but there was still some satisfaction in seeing his claws. Mr. Tylor remarks: “Rhinoceros horns, supposed to be griffin’s claws, were mounted in gold and silver in Europe in the Middle Ages, and preserved as relics in churches. There is or was one in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, mounted on little gilt claws, which sufficiently show what it was thought to be.”^b “It is said that three talons of the Gryphon were preserved at Bayeux, and fastened on high festival days to the altar;” and there was a legend “concerning a cup, formed of a Gryphon’s claw, and dedicated to S. Cuthbert.”^c Similarly, sceptics who doubted the existence of the unicorn, were shown “the spiral tusk of the narwhal,” which used “to be sold as the real horn of the unicorn.”^d Guillim remarks that “some have made doubt whether there be any such beast as this or not. But the great esteem of his horne (in many places to be seen) may take away that needlesse scruple.”^e

It is to be specially observed that the Gryphon, despite his strange form and double nature, is not an evil beast like, *e.g.*, the dragon; but a symbol of “strength and vigilancy,” etc. With any Christian symbolism which has been attached to the creature, I am not here concerned, as this is an arbitrary addition to the original idea.

II.—THE GRYPHON-LEGEND.

The Gryphon-Legend, as recorded by Greek prose writers, is usually repre-

^a Guillim, *Display of Heraldrie*, 259. Opinions were divided respecting the possibility of capturing the unicorn alive. Some, following Pliny and other ancient authorities, stoutly maintained that “the unicorn is never taken alive; and the reason being demanded, it is answered, that the greatness of his mind is such that he choseth rather to die than to be taken alive” (*Ibid.* 176). But it was more generally held that he would come gently and lay his head in a virgin’s lap, “sicque deprehenditur a venatoribus” (Vide Robert Brown, Jun. *The Unicorn*, 2, and authorities cited). This incident is shown on a miserere at Stratford-on-Avon. There the crescent-moon appears on the shield over the unicorn’s head. The basis of the myth is the sway of the chaste virgin Moon-goddess, Artemis-Diana, over the lunar orb.

^b *Early History of Mankind*, 3rd edit. 319-320.

^c E. J. Millington, *Heraldry in History, Poetry and Romance*, 278.

^d Rev. J. G. Wood, *Illustrated Natural History*, 85-86.

^e *Display of Heraldrie*, 175. The representation of the Unicorn in Conrad Gesner’s *Historiae Animalium*, shows exactly the narwhal’s horn arbitrarily attached to an imaginary beast.

sented as having been first narrated in western regions by Aristeas of Prokonnêsos, who, be it remarked, is described as being a special votary of Apollôn.^a Whether Aristeas be a historical or a purely mythical personage is unimportant; the broad fact remains that, as Hêrodotos says, "These stories are received by the Scythians, and by them passed on to us Greeks."^b Pausanias gives an excellent presentation of the legend. After noticing that Gryphons were wrought on each side of the helmet of Athena, which surmounted her statue of ivory and gold in the Parthenon, he continues: "These Gryphons, Aristeas the Prokonnesian says, in his verses, fight about gold with the Arimaspians (who dwell) beyond the Issedonians; and (he says) that *the gold which the Gryphone guard was sent up from the earth* (ἀνιέναι τὴν γῆν): and that the Arimaspians were all one-eyed men from their birth; and he states that the Gryphons are like wild beasts (θηρία), but have the wings and beak of an eagle."^c Pausanias had also heard that Gryphons were spotted like leopards, but rejected it as an idle tale.^d Hêrodotos says, "The northern parts of Europe^e are very much richer in gold than any other region. The story runs, that the one-eyed Arimaspi purloin it from the Griffins; here I am incredulous."^f According to the poem attributed to Aristeas, above the Issedonians "dwelt the Arimaspi, men with one eye; still further, the gold-guarding Griffins; and beyond these, the Hyperboreans, who extended to the sea."^g "The Issedonians are reputed to be observers of justice; and it is to be remarked that their women have equal authority with the men." Thus our knowledge extends as far as this nation. The regions beyond are known only from the accounts of the Issedonians, by whom the stories are told of

^a Herod. iv. 15. Another famous mythical inhabitant of the unknown north-east, Abaris, is similarly connected with the Sun-god. "Abaris is said to have been a Hyperborean, and to have gone with his arrow all round the world without once eating" (Herod. iv. 36. Canon Rawlinson's translation). The cycling progress of the arrow-armed sun is evidently the basis of the story; and it is quite unnecessary to suppose that the arrow of Abaris represents the magnet, or that Abaris was "a Scythian, who wished to make himself acquainted with Greek customs."

^b Herod. iv. 27.

^c Pausanias, i. xxiv. 6.

^d Ibid. viii. ii. 3.

^e Herodotos, it will be remembered, regards the north of Asia as forming part of Europe.

^f Herod. iii. 116.

^g Ibid. iv. 13.

^h Prof. Sayce, when speaking of the Laws of Akkad, remarks that the "importance of the mother in family-life is still a distinguishing feature of the Finnic-Tatar race" (*Records of the Past*, iii. 21). According to Akkadian law a married woman's property was her own, a principle to which we are slowly but surely tending (vide Stat. 45 & 46 Vict. cap. 75).

the one-eyed race of men and the gold-guarding Griffins.”^a Ktésias states, “There is gold in the Indian country ; but there are many and great mountains, wherein dwell the Griffins, four-footed birds of the greatness of the wolf, but with legs and claws like lions. The feathers on the rest of the bodies are black, but red on the breast. Through them it is that the gold in the mountains, though plentiful, is most difficult to get.”^b Aischylos makes Promêtheus council Iô: “Be on thy guard against the Gryphons, the keen-mouthed unbarking hounds of Zeus, and the one-eyed equestrian Arimaspiian host, who dwell around the stream flowing-with-gold, the ferry of Ploutôn.”^c

Such is the ancient myth, repeated “with advantages” by numberless subsequent writers, amongst whom may be mentioned Aelian, Solinus (who describes the Gryphons as “*Alites ferocissime et ultra rabiem saevientes*”), Albertus Magnus, and Sir John Mandeville,^d who specially connects the Gryphon with “Bactrie.” Pliny says many have written on the subject, “sed maxime Herodotus, et Aristeus.” He speaks of the one-eyed Arimaspi, “*quibus assidue bellum esse circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum volucris genere, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et feris custodientibus, et Arimaspis rapiuntibus.*”^e The story being in the hands of Euhemerists when we first meet with it, the accounts of their successors, chiefly consisting of repetitions and arbitrary additions, are quite unimportant, except in so far as they may occasionally chance to preserve—of course, without understanding it—any genuine incident of the myth.

One or two archaic features in the general classical and mediæval legend deserve special notice. The first of them is the great hatred of the Gryphon for the horse. As Servius and Aldrovandus assert, they are “*equis vehementer infesti*,”^f to which trait Vergil alludes,—

“Jungentur jam gryphes equis, aevoque sequenti
Cum canibus timidi venient ad pocula damae.”^g

^a Herod. iv. 26-27. Herodotos gives a derivation of the name ‘Arimaspi,’ “*arima* being the Scythic word for ‘one,’ and *spû* for the eye.” Prof. Rawlinson is of opinion that these words are Aryan (Herod. iii. 161 ; vide *inf.* Appendix).

^b *Indika*, xii.

^c *Prometheus Desmotês*, 822-825. Aischylos is derided (Aristophanes, *Batrachoi*, 929) for using high-sounding words such as *grupætos*, ‘gryphon-eagle.’

^d Vide Robert Brown, Jun. *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 337.

^e *Hist. Nat.* vii. 2. Vide also *Ibid.* x. 70.

^f Vide *Monstrorum Historia*, 341.

^g *Ecloga*, viii. 27-28.

The Gryphon appears in Greek legend, and is sometimes portrayed on the vases, as warring with the Amazons.

The Gryphon is connected with a mysterious egg. According to Albertus Magnus, "in its nest the griffin lays the agate for its help and medicine." In the Middle Ages "the gryphon's egg (so-called) was considered a valuable curiosity, and used as a goblet."^a

The connexion of the Gryphon with tombs, the goddess Nemesis, the Wheel, and the light-divinities Apollôn, Dionysos, and Athena, will also be noticed subsequently.

Lucan^b foolishly remarks that the Arimaspi adorned their hair with gold, a good instance of a worthless addition of a late writer. Milton's fine comparison of Satan to a Gryphon pursuing an Arimaspi, will, of course, be remembered.

According to Philostratos, Apollonios of Tyana, on his return from India, "described the gold-digging griffins, that they were *sacred to the sun* (his chariot is represented as drawn by them), about the size of lions, but stronger because winged; that their wings were of a reddish membrane, and their flight was low and spiral; and that they overpowered lions, elephants and dragons"^c—i.e., large serpents.

Such, then, is the archaic legend, which is practically summed up in the statement that the horse-hating, keen-mouthed, unbarking, egg-laying, gold-guarding Gryphons (eagle-lions) lived in the far East, were sacred to the sun, and fought with Amazon and one-eyed Arimaspi. I will next further illustrate the legend by noticing some instances of the treatment of the Gryphon in art.

III.—THE GRYPHON IN ART.

The following instances of the Gryphon in art are not intended to be by any means exhaustive of the subject, but are cited as merely illustrative of some phase of the myth, or to show its wide-spread character.

I. *The Gryphon in Kem*^d ("the Black" Land).—The winged Hieracosphinx,^e called Sefer, painted at Beni-Hassan, and a compound of bird and beast, if it may not actually be styled a Gryphon, is exceedingly gryphonesque. We are told

^a E. T. Millington, *Heraldry*, 279.

^b *Pharsalia*, iii. 280.

^c Vide Priaulx, *Apollonius of Tyana*, 52-53.

^d Egypt. Αἰγυπτιος (according to Brugsch) = Ha-Ka-Ptah ("House-of-the-cult-of-Ptah").

^e Vide Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 93.

by Greek writers that the Androsphinx showed the union of intellectual and physical strength; a symbolism which thus represents abstract ideas belongs to a developed and established civilization, and we have some difficulty in laying bare the simple nature-myths of Egypt on account of the many *strata* of later thought which conceal them. Sir Gardner Wilkinson compares the Egyptian compound-animals "to the creations of heraldry."

The Gryphon with a bird's beak, straight ears or horns, stiff erect tail and animal's body, is a symbol of "*Bar*, Baal,"^a the Semitic sun-god.

Another winged monster in the Hieroglyphic lists, named Âkhekh,^b though called a Gryphon is rather a dragon, and, as such, connected with darkness; Âkhekh being also a name for dragon, the ideograph showing "the demon of darkness, the serpent Apop"^c (Apophis), pierced with knives.

"The monster with stiff ears, peculiar snout, and tail erect,"^d which is a symbol of Sat (*cf.* *sat*, flame, *sati*, sun-ray), the devouring and burning Sun-god, has also been incorrectly styled a Gryphon.

A gem of the Hellenico-Kemic period, figured by Leonardus Augustinus,^e shows a so-called Canopic vase on the back of a female Gryphon, whose sinister paw rests upon a wheel on which is a cross. Sir Gardner Wilkinson remarks;—"Vases surmounted with a human head, forming the cover, appear to have been frequently used for keeping *gold* and other precious objects, representations of which are met with in the small side chambers of Medeenet Haboo."^f "Canopus" means "Golden floor," or "Golden land,"^g and is also the name of that brilliant star of the first magnitude which in a poem of the time of Thutmes III. is said to "pour his light like a glance of fire."^h Augustinus well remarks, "Gryphus anteriore pede movet rotam, quod symbolum est solis, quippe procreatione rerum veniente ex circuitu et motu currus solaris." The wheel is a familiar Dionysiak and solar emblem, and as such is represented as an object of adoration on the Topes of Sanchi and Amravati.ⁱ According to Proklos, a cross within a circle symbolised the vivifying principle that animates the universe.

^a Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, i. 529.

^b *Ibid.* v. 368.

^c Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, 75.

^d *Ibid.* 51.

^e *Gemmae et Sculpturae Antiquae*, 1694, No. 205.

^f *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 10.

^g Coptic Kahinoub, χρῶσεν ἰδαφος; *kaa* = 'floor,' and *nub*, 'gold' (Vide Dr. Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, i. 441; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 10).

^h Ap. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, i. 371.

ⁱ Vide Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*; Robert Brown, Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 92.

Here the Gryphon, true to its solar nature, supports the golden Canopus ; and guards the golden and all-animating sun, from which nevertheless it is quite distinct.

II. *In the Purat (Euphrates) Valley.*—The testimony of Hêrodotos does not specially connect the Gryphon with the Purat Valley, but with more northern regions ; and the term “gryphon” has sometimes been somewhat loosely and incorrectly employed in describing Euphratean monsters. Thus the late George Smith, speaking of the Kaldean “dragon of the sea,” observes : “The form of this creature, as given on the gems, is that of a griffin *or* dragon, generally with a head like a carnivorous animal, body carved with scales, legs terminating in claws, like an eagle, and wings on the back. Our own heraldic griffins are so strikingly like the sculptures of this creature that we might almost suspect them to be copies from the Chaldean works.”^a We have, however, only to read this description to see that the creature portrayed is not a Gryphon ; and the point is important in the consideration of the myth, for the Gryphon, though terrible, is a creature obedient to the gods and not wicked or malevolent ; whilst the Dragon, as in the case in question, is the exact opposite, the two being respectively representatives of light and darkness.

Again, Ainsworth, speaking of ruins at Al Hadhr, near Kalah Sherghat, says : “On one of the walls is the finely-sculptured figure of a griffin, with twisted tail, also *relievi* of busts, birds, griffins,” etc.^b It would not, however, be safe, in the absence of a drawing, to assume that the Gryphon is really the creature portrayed.

But the Gryphon proper may, I think, be recognised in one or two instances on the cylinders, especially in the following scene : Double-winged Gryphon attacking unicorn-stag, over which a crescent.^c This is a highly interesting combination. The Unicorn, as I have elsewhere shown, represents the lunar power ; and the design would thus symbolize the victory of the day-light over the night-light.

III. *In Cyprus.*—Major Palma di Cesnola, F.S.A., in his *Salaminia*, gives the following instances of representations of the Gryphon on Cypriot cylinders, the designs on which are modelled upon Babylonio-Hittite prototypes :—

^a *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 1st edit. p. 90. Prof. Sayce has judiciously omitted this passage, and observes : “The dragon itself, according to the representations of the monuments, was a composite monster, with the tail, horns, claws, and wings of the mediæval devil” (Ibid. 2nd edit. p. 113).

^b Ap. Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 118.

^c Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xliii. Fig. 21. Cf. also Figs. 12, 13 ; and Pl. xlv. Fig. 18. Vide *inf.* p. 376, note ^d.

1. Gryphon *sejant*, a very good specimen, beneath which a lion *sejant*.
2. "Winged Gryphon, which must be carefully distinguished from the Egyptian sphinx."
3. "Gryphon, seated in adoration before the Paphian goddess." What is called "the Paphian goddess" is some object like a club, radiate, upon a globe or star, with a serpentine ornament on each side. The Gryphon is adoring (or watching or guarding) some symbol of light.
4. "Gryphon *segreant* adoring," as in the last instance.
5. Another "archaic cylinder" shows "animals in heraldic style on either side of an eagle." The "animals" seem to be Gryphons *segreant*, standing something in the manner of supporters. I cannot discern what the object between them may be, but above it is the globe or star.
6. "Two Gryphons in the Babylonian style." In another instance "the winged Gryphon has become a sphinx."

IV. *In Skythia*.—The palace of Skylas, king of Skythia, was ornamented with Gryphons carved in white marble.*

Prof. Rawlinson remarks, "The griffin has been found as an ornament in Scythian tombs, the drawing, however, being Greek;" and he gives^b a drawing of a Skythian Gryphon of the true type, *i.e.*, with eagle's head, lion's body and wings. He derives the Gryphon "from the winged lion of the Assyrians, which was the emblem of the god Nergal." But with this view I am unable to agree, for, as he shows, Nergal's emblem is "the man-lion,"^c which has nothing to do with the Gryphon, and explains neither the combination, nor the incidents of the myth.

The connexion of the Gryphon with tombs, I shall again refer to.

The Gryphon is frequently shown on the coins of Pantikapaion in the Taurik Chersonesos, the type being:—

"Horned Gryphon, stepping to *l.*, on ear of corn; in mouth a spear.

Fore part of Gryphon to *l.*

Horned Gryphon stepping to *l.*; in mouth, a javelin; below, ear of corn."^d

The horned, radiate, solar-power, armed with the spear-ray, steps forward to the west, and is particularly connected in a specially corn-producing region with

* Herod. iv. 79.

^b Herodotus, iii. 20.

^c Vide *Ancient Monarchies*, i. 137.

^d Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, in voc. *Panticapæum*.

the grain which it ripens. Aristaos, the rural divinity, son of heaven and earth, is but a name of Apollôn,^a and the guardian of the *arista* or "ear of grain."

V. *At Mykéné*.—Here Dr. Schliemann found "three griffins of gold; the upper part of their bodies is that of an eagle, the lower that of a lion; the wing is ornamented with spirals. Böttiger explains these monsters as simple productions of the Indian carpet manufacture, because from a remote antiquity the Indians delight in compounding their sacred animals,"^b an excellent specimen of an explanation which explains nothing. People portray Gryphons because it pleases them so to do. Schliemann adds, "It appears certain that the Griffin came in the retinue of Dionysos from India to Greece, and that it therefore became here the symbol of wisdom and enlightenment." In *The Great Dionysiak Myth* I have endeavoured to show that Dionysos did not come from India, but was, as antiquity has styled him, an "Assyrian stranger." As a Sun-god he is specially connected with the Gryphon, a symbol not of "enlightenment" but of light.^c

VI. *In Etruria*.—When describing the contents of the museum at Volterra, Mr. Dennis says, "Griffons are favourite subjects on these urns. That they are embodiments of some evil and destructive power is evident in their compound of lion and eagle." This idea, as we see by the whole tenour of the myth, is erroneous; as well might it be said that the majestic man-lion of Nergal was an "embodiment of some evil power." "Thus [*i.e.*, lion and eagle] they are generally represented; now, like beasts of prey, tearing some animal to pieces; now overthrowing the Arimaspes The Arimaspes on these urns are not one-eyed."^d

Again, speaking of urns at Perugia, he says: "There are several with a griffon as a device; one remarkable for having an eye [probably intended for the solar eye] in its wing. The griffon is still the crest on the arms of Perugia."^e

Dempster, in his *De Etruria Regali*, gives an excellent example of a Gryphon from a bronze seal found at Cortona; it has long ears, wings, a beak, and the body of a lion.

VII. At a temple of Artemis in Elis was preserved in the time of Strabo, a celebrated picture by Arêgôn the Korinthian, representing Artemis carried by

^a Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 116; Robert Brown, Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 402.

^b *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, 177-8.

^c Vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 334 *et seq.*; 409-410; ii. 58.

^d *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, ii. 174.

^e *Ibid.* 448.

a Gryphon.^a As she is a light-goddess and a "wide heaven possessor" the connexion is not inappropriate.

VIII. Similarly, on each side of the helmet of the statue of the dawn-goddess Athena, in the Parthenon, was wrought a Gryphon.^b

IX. *On Vases.*

1. Swan between two Gryphons.^c Rather a favourite design. The swan is a bird connected with Zeus; and, as we have seen, the Gryphons are the Zeus-dogs.

2. *Oinochoë* with "spout modelled in the form of a Gryphon's head with erect ears."^d Keeness of sight and hearing is a trait in the Gryphon-concept. Cf. *Hēlios*, ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.^e

3. Group of seated Zeus and others. "His chair has an upright back terminating in the head of a Gryphon."^f

4. Panther crouching and a Gryphon *couchant*.^g

5. A lion and a Gryphon *courant*.^h

6. The hyperborean Apollôn riding on a Gryphon; in his left hand a laurel-branch.ⁱ "The crown of the god and the berries of the laurel^k are gilded."^l

7. Dionysos drawn by Gryphons.^m

8. Combat of Amazon and Gryphon.ⁿ "Sometimes," says Dr. Birch, "the Amazons are depicted . . . fighting with Gryphons, in detached scenes, like the combats of the Gryphons and Arimaspi."^o In this design the Amazon is dismounted; the Gryphon "has leapt on the back of her horse and seized it by the throat; the horse springs off the ground in agony." The Gryphon is painted white. The Amazon "wears a Phrygian cap."^p

9. The same subject.^q "The Amazon attacks the Gryphon with her spear, making her horse rear against him; the Gryphon meets the horse breast to breast, rearing against him."

10. Contest of Amazons and Gryphons.^r In centre, an Amazon aiming, with an axe held in her right hand, a blow at a Gryphon, "who is striking her on the flank with both forepaws; on the right another Gryphon has fastened his beak and claws on her knee; a third Gryphon, on higher ground on the right,

^a Strabo, VIII. iii. 12.

^b Pausanias, I. xxiv. 5.

^c Vide *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, Nos. 377, 379.

^d *Ibid.* No. 435.

^e *Iliad*, iii. 277.

^f *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, No. 182.

^g *Ibid.* No. 946.

^h *Ibid.* No. 953.

ⁱ *Ibid.* No. 934.

^k Δάφνη, "the Burning."

^l Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, 205.

^m *Ibid.* 239.

ⁿ *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, No. 1368.

^o Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, 265.

^p As to the Amazon-Myth, vide *inf.* sec. v.

^q *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, No. 1393.

^r *Ibid.* c. 21.

rushes at her head. At a little distance two other Amazons coming to her assistance. The Gryphons are painted white."

11. *Rhyton*, terminating in a Gryphon's head.^a

12. "Two Gryphons confronted, with their right paws raised; between them a tripod,^b a utensil specially connected with Apollôn.

13. Gryphons attacking horses.^c

14. Gryphon and crow,^d a bird specially connected with the Sun-god.

15. Speaking of the vases of Pantikapaion, Dr. Birch observes: "The most remarkable of these is that of the Athenian potter Xenophantos, having for its subject a combat of Gryphons and the Arimaspoi, a story of local interest."*

X. *On Lamps*.—The Gryphon appears, suitably enough, as an ornament on lamps.

1. Lamp with "the Gryphon and *patera* of Apollo."^e

2. Lamp, the handle formed of a Gryphon's head and neck, with erect ears and crest.^f

XI. Demi-gryphon, with head reverted, pricked ears, and rayed crest.^h Apparently a carved figure.

XII. *On Coins*.—The coins of Pantikapaion have been already referred to.

1. Abdera.—Gryphon *sejant* or *couchant* to *r*, left foot raised. Type from Teôs.

2. Assos.—Gryphon *couchant* to *l*.

Gryphon *trippant* to *l*.



(ΑΒΔΕΡΑ.)



(ΑΣΣΟΣ.)

Gryphon "*couchant* to *l*., with right foot raised." Leake observes, "The wheat of Assus was renowned The gryffon was a type of Apollo; Assus was also called Apollonia."ⁱ Other coins bear the Dionysiak bunch of grapes and *kanthar*.

3. Teôs.—Gryphon with wings *addorsed*, open mouth, protruded tongue, and raised left paw; in the field, grapes and vine-branch.

^a *British Museum Vase Catalogue*, No. 1471.

^b *Ibid.* No. 1524.

^c Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, 287.

^d *Ibid.* 403.

^e *Ibid.* 432.

^f *Ibid.* 514.

^g Montfaucon, Vol. v. Pt. ii. Pl. cxl. Fig. 3.

^h Caylus, *Antiquités Gauloises*, Vol. iii. Pl. xcviii. Fig. 6.

ⁱ *Numismata Hellenica*, in voc. *Assus*.

Gryphon—*couchant*. Rev. *Diota*.

Gryphon—*passant*. Rev. Two Lions in ivy wreath.

Gryphon—*courant*. Rev. Triple-chord lyre. Teôs was renowned for its magnificent temple of the sun-god Dionysos.

4. Smyrna.—A common type on coins of this place is Tychê (Fortuna), who in an inscription is identified with Nemesis.^a Her statue holding the horn of Amaltheia, was first made for the Smyrniots by Boupalos of Chios, *circ.* B.C. 520;^b and the learned Nonnos^c calls the γρύψ πτερόεις the messenger of the goddess, and an ὄρνις ἀλάστωρ, or avenging bird" (Alastôr = Deus Vindex). The wheel (τροχός) is also named as an adjunct of Tychê-Nemesis. Now *trochos* = (1) a runner; (2) anything circular which runs or moves easily; *e. g.*, (3) the sun's disk, the sun being the great racer or runner, and the gryphon-guarded wheel. Hence on these same Smyrniot coins we find:—

Gryphon, *statant* to *r.*; left fore-paw on wheel.

And an elegant lamp, engraved in Montfaucon,^d shows a fine specimen of the winged Gryphon *statant*, with pricked ears and sinister paw on wheel. The solar wheel in its progress reveals the varied fortunes of men; and the revealing Gryphon of light becomes to the wicked an Alastôr, or avenging-divinity, in the same way that the innocent dawn-light Saranyû is transformed into the dread Erînyes.

5. Soloi.—In Kilikia. Head of Athena with Gryphon on shield.^e

6. As.^f—Head of Hercules, wearing the skin of the lion's head as a cap. Rev. Fine head of Gryphon, horned, and with horned crest. Hêraklês, as is well-known, is an Aryan solar divinity; but with whose mythic career much non-Aryan incident and ideas have been mingled.

7. C. O. Müller mentions coins of Chalkêdôn showing Apollôn "flying on a griffin."^g The Gryphon thus somewhat resembles the luminous, solar, man-bird Garuda, the steed of Vishnu, who is described as "red-winged," "white-faced," and "white-and-red."

XIII. *On Gems.*

1. Gryphon *statant*, with sinister paw on the lyre of Apollôn; behind, the raven of the Sun-god, Amethyst (Florence). The lyre thus corresponds with the wheel, and, as Mr. Ruskin finely says: "The sun is always thought of as

^a "Deae Nemesei, sive Fortunae" (Gruter, i. 80).

^b Pausanias, iv. xxx. 4.

^c *Dionysiak.* xlviii. 375 *et seq.*

^d *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Vol. v. Pt. ii. Pl. clxii. Fig. 2.

^e Cf. No. vii.

^f Museum, Jesuits' College, Rome.

Ancient Art and its Remains, 449; cf. No. vii.

the master of time and rhythm, and as the origin of the composing and inventive discovery of melody."^a

2. Two Gryphons devouring a stag.^b In Aryan mythology the stag represents (1) the cloud; (2) "The moon in the gloom of night;" or (3) "The whole sky of night;"^c and thus is appropriately represented as being overcome by the diurnal and solar Gryphon.

3. Erôs with two Gryphons yoked to his car.^d Love is allied to light, heat, strength, and subdues all things. The Gryphon becomes the Hippogriff.

4. The Gryphon of Apollôn fighting with giants.^e

5. Gryphon "with large wings extended."^f

XIV. *On Tombs*.—The Gryphon is appropriately sculptured on tombs, (1) as the type of a vigilant and powerful guardian power; (2) as a symbol of the *nemesis* or fate which awaits mankind generally; and (3) like the Cherub, as a solar emblem, the sun affording the great type of death and renewal of life through death.

1. Demi-eagle and demi-lion.^g A variant phase, the fore part of the creature, including the fore feet, being like an eagle, the hinder part like a lion.

2. Gryphon on back of bull *couchant*, which it assails.^h

3. Similar scene.ⁱ With this may be compared another scene, also on a sepulchral urn, where a winged Genius, hovering over the bull, plunges a dagger into his head.^k I think we have here the Mithraik Gryphon,^l and that the combination is a variant phase of the familiar representation of Mithra and the Bull.

4. Goat-headed Gryphon.^m A rare variant phase.ⁿ

5. Ordinary Gryphon on tomb.^o

XV. *The Mithraik Gryphon*.

The Gryphon (*gryphus*) is appropriately one of the seven "portentosa simu-

^a *Queen of the Air*, i. 41.

^c Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii. 88.

^e Müller, *Ancient Art and its Remains*, 449.

^g Montfaucon, Vol. v. Pt. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 1.

ⁱ *Ibid.* Pl. xlix.

^k *Ibid.* Pl. xlix.

^l *Ibid.* Pl. xlix.

ⁿ As to the solar character of the Goat, vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Law of Kosmic Order*, sec. xix. Capricornus, the Sea-goat.

^o Montfaucon, Vol. v. Pt. i. Pl. xxxvii. lxxviii.

^b King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, Vol. ii. Pl. lv. Fig. 7.

^d Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, Vol. i. Pl. lxxv. Fig. 3.

^f Cesnola, *Salamina*, 50.

^h *Ibid.* Pl. xxxi.

^j *Ibid.* Pl. lxxiv. Fig. 2.

^m Montfaucon, Vol. v. Pt. i. Pl. lxxix. Fig. 2.

lachra," "which gave names to the seven initiations" ^a in the cult of the solar Mitra-Mithras.

1. Mithraik talisman. "A man blindfolded, with his hands tied behind his back, is bound to a pillar, on which stands a Gryphon holding a wheel." ^b

2. Mithraik design from the Roman wall, Northumberland. Guarding a cross-marked circle (wheel) stands a Gryphon, over whom is a crescent, a cross, and a star, one above the other. ^c

At the initiation described by Apuleius, the garments of the votary were adorned with animals portrayed in various colours, amongst which were "gryphes hyperborei." ^d

XVI. On the horn of Ulf, in the vestry of York Minster. ^e The Gryphon, an excellent example, with lion's body, eagle's beak, wings with curved tips, and pricked ears, stands on one side of a sacred tree, as guarding it in Assyrian fashion. His companion animals are the lion, the unicorn, ^f and a kind of winged wolf or bear, probably meant for a dragon.

XVII. The Gryphon also appears carved in churches. Thus numerous and interesting examples occur on miserere-seats in Beverley Minster. ^g

XVIII. Gigantic carved Gryphons have also been met with in Burmah, ^h as for instance at Thyetmyo, on the Irrawaddy. Here they are called Chin Thay, and stand at the entrance of one of the great pagodas dedicated to the cult of Buddha.

IV.—THE MEANING OF THE NAME "GRYPHON."

The name of the creature appears in Greek in the forms *grups*, *grupon*, *grubos*, and *grunos*, ⁱ the Lat. *gryphus* (an extended form of *grups*), *gryphes*, Low Lat., *griffus*, French and Middle Eng. *griffon*, Eng. *gryphon*, *gryfon*, *gryphin*, *griffon*, *gryffen*, ^j *griffin* (a weakened form), *griph*, *grype*, and *gripe*. ^k Minsheu, after the manner of his time, derives the word "ab Heb. *garaph*, arripere." He says,

^a *Archaeologia*, XLVII. 207.

^b King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, 61.

^c Waring, *Ceramic Art in Remote Ages*, Pl. xxxvi. Fig. 2.

^d *De Asino Aureo*, lib. xi.

^e Figured in Poole and Hugall's *York Cathedral*, York, 1850, facing p. 191.

^f Vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Unicorn*, in which the unicorn on this horn is fully noticed, and a picture of it given.

^g Figured in Wildridge's *Misereres of Beverly Minster*, Hull, 1879.

^h Vide Robert Brown, Jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 336.

ⁱ Vide Hesychios, in voc.

^j Minsheu.

^k Cotgrave.

"Gryphes est animal pennatum et quadrupes : ideoq. per terram currunt ut Leones, per aëra volunt ut Aquilae. Omni parte corporis Leones sunt ; alis et facie, et pedibus, Aquilis similes. Multum equos infestant, adeoq. equitem armatum cum equo in sublime rapiunt."^a The word is akin to the Greek *grupos*, "curved," "bent," "hook-nosed" ; and, according to Prof. Skeat,^b the root is unknown. But I think we may without much hesitation derive *gryphon* from the Proto-Aryan root *garbh*,^c the earliest form of which is probably *grap*, Vedic *grabh*, Sk. *grah*, Zend *gerew*, Lith. *grėlju*, Slav. *grablju*, Goth. *greipan*, Irish *grabaim* ("I devour"), Eng. *gripe*, *grab*, *grasp*, etc. The Gryphon is, therefore, as I have already explained the word,^d "the Grasper or Clutcher," the creature that grips the gold.

So, again, the Vedic *grabha* (= grabber) is "a taking possession of," *grabhītri*. "one who seizes," and the Sk. *graha* means "seizing," "taking." This latter is a very interesting word in the present connexion, for it is applied to "*the power that seizes the sun and moon and causes eclipses*";^e and, as we shall see, the Gryphon is a sun-seizing power, having an exactly opposite effect from that of the sun-swallowing demon Rahu, who, in Hindu astronomy, becomes the ascending node. The term *graha*, "seizer," is, however, not merely applied to this monster, but is the general name for "planet" ; and, according to Prof. Weber, "is evidently of astrological origin."^f He suggests that Hindu astronomico-astrology is primarily Chaldean in part ; and I would illustrate the term *graha* as applied to the progress of a planet, from a Babylonian astronomical inscription, where we read :—

"Nibat-anu [Mars] the constellation of the Scorpion faces.
The Zodiacal Sign by its lower part it seizes."^g

The Gryphon is thus practically *Graha*, "the Seizer."

The name *grype* is applied by old English writers to a kind of eagle or vulture. Thus Holinshed says : "This *griph* or geire is a kind of an eagle."^h And Holland : "There was not a vulture or *grype* anywhere to be seene."ⁱ According to Vossius, the Gryphon is "*avis fabulosa*," and derives its name "*ab adunco rostro*." According to Sir Thomas Brown, "the word Γρύψ, or *gryps*, some-

^a Dictionary, 1627, in voc. *Gryffen*.

^b *English Etymological Dictionary*, in voc. *Griffin*.

^c Fick, *Wörterbuch*, i. 74.

^d *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 58.

^e Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, in voc.

^f *History of Indian Literature* (English translation), 1878, p. 250.

^g Ap. Prof. Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* iii. 181.

^h *Ireland*, ii. 18.

ⁱ *Livius*, p. 1109.

times mentioned in Scripture and frequently in humane authors, properly understood, signifies some kind of eagle or vulture; from whence the epithet *grypus*, for an hooked or aquiline nose." But though this might be the opinion of a scientist, the simple old faith was then generally held, so he adds, "That there are griffins in nature, that is, a mixt and dubious animal, in the fore part resembling an eagle, and behind, the shape of a lion, with directed ears, four feet, and a long tail, many affirm, and most, I perceive, deny not."^a

In the well-known Pahlavi work, the *Bundahis* ("Cosmogony"), the Gryphon is thus spoken of: "The fourth genus [of living creatures] is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures is the largest."^b Elsewhere it is spoken of as "the griffon-bird, which is a bat,"^c meaning, I presume, "which resembles a bat in its nature"; for it is clear that the Gryphon of the *Bundahis*, largest of flying creatures, does not literally mean the harmless little bat. Again, we read, "First of birde the griffon of three natures was created *not for here* (this world)."^d And again, "Of birds Kamros is chief, who is worth all the birds . . . except the griffon of three natures."^e The Gryphon thus stands at the head of flying creatures, its three natures being, I presume, those of the lion, and eagle, and of the compound or monstrous creature. Mr. West identifies this Gryphon with the *Simurgh*, the mighty mythical bird of Persian legend. This creature was "a bird or griffon of extraordinary strength and size (as its name imports, signifying as large as thirty eagles), which, according to the eastern writers, was sent by the Supreme Being to subdue and chastise the rebellious Dives. It was supposed to possess rational faculties and the gift of speech."^f Southey adds, "In Mr. Fox's collection of Persic books is an illuminated copy of Firdusi, containing a picture of the Simorg, who is there represented as an ugly dragon-looking sort of bird." The *Simurgh* is thus, like the Gryphon, a good power; and the Dives, the *Devas* of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) are the powers of darkness, chaos and evil.

Again, "as Apollo is the prophetic and divining deity, whose oracle, when consulted, delivers itself in enigmas, the word griffen, too, meant enigma, logogriph being an enigmatical speech, and griffonage an entangled, confused, and embarrassing handwriting."^g Thus Baily gives, "*Griph*, a Riddle."^h

^a *Vulgar Errours*, iii. 11.

^b *Bundahis*, xiv. 11. Ap. E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, pt. i.

^c *Ibid.* xix. 18.

^d *Ibid.* xxiv. 11.

^e *Ibid.* xxiv. 29.

^f Fox, in the Notes to Southey's *Thalaba*.

^g *Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology*, ii. 205.

^h *Dictionary*, 1724.

V.—THE EXPLICATION OF THE GRYPHON-MYTH.

Mr. Tylor, having remarked, apropos of "myths of observation in Siberia," that "the curved tusks of the *Rhinoceros tichorhinus* are something like the claws of a monstrous bird," and are believed by the Siberians to be such, observes, "Adolf Erman connects with much plausibility the well-known *ruk*h of the *Arabian Nights*, and the *Griffin* of Herodotus, with the tales of monstrous birds current in the gold-producing regions of Siberia; and he even suggests the remark that gold-bearing sand really underlies the beds which contain these fossil 'birds claws' as an explanation of the passage, 'it is said that the Arimaspi one-eyed men seize (the gold) from underneath the griffins' " ^a (ὑπὲρ τῶν γρυπῶν). The objection to such an explanation is, that (1) it by no means satisfies the incidents of the myth, in fact, leaves nearly every one of them utterly unexplained; and (2) comparative mythology teaches us that the true explanation of these myths of unnatural animals and birds is almost always supplied by the Natural Phenomena Theory, by means of which we are enabled to understand perfectly the nature of the heraldic lion and leopard, of unicorn, dragon, and phoenix. Why is the Gryphon connected with the sun and with Nemesis, and believed to have a special hatred of horses? Who are the one-eyed Arimaspians, and why should they wish to steal the gold? Have any of *their* bones or other remains been discovered, so as to supply the basis for a "myth of observation"? It is often only when a myth is presented in its completeness that the inadequacy of a plausible partial explanation appears. Thus, for instance, we are specially told that the gold which the Gryphons guarded "was sent up from the earth,"—not buried in it;^b and as the country had no inhabitants except the Gryphons, and they did not send the gold up but guarded it when it was sent, it is sufficiently evident that no metallic substance lies at the base of the story.

The Gryphon is an emblem of the sun-guarding, solar light and brightness, which receives into its care the golden solar egg when sent up in the morning from the earth and the Underworld; which combines the potencies of the heaven-soaring king of birds, always connected like his master with the upper expanse, and of the majestic king of beasts, himself ever a type of and closely-connected with the sun;^c which, like Hēlios himself, with keen eye and pricked ear hears

^a *Early History of Mankind*, 3rd edit. p. 319.

^b Vide *sup.* sec. ii.

^c As to the leonine sun, vide Robert Brown, Jun. *The Unicorn*, secs. xi. xii.; *The Law of Kosmic Order*, sec. xiv. Leo, the Lion.

and sees all things ; which never barks—for light is silent—although it is the keen hound of Zeus, lord of the broad bright heaven ; which dwells each morn near the eastern ocean-stream, caused by the rising Hêlios to flow with gold, the ferry of Ploutos-Ploutôn, lord of the wealth of the Underworld ; which fights with the Amazons, the varying clouds of storm and sunshine ; which, sacred to the sun, places its paw upon the solar wheel ; which is the “avenging bird” of Nemesis, because Time, of which the sun is lord, brings in due course the doom and retribution upon the evil-doer ; and because the light-power searches and finds out the wicked, even as the Vedic dawn-nymph Saranyû becomes changed into the dread retributive Erînyes ;^a which hates the horse because that animal is connected with the Arimaspians ;^b which is placed on tombs to show that it still guards the sun in the Underworld, and will pursue the Arimaspians through the darkness until at dawn the gold is once more recovered ; which devours the bull, or plants its paw upon the bull’s head, to show the triumph of the diurnal power over the nocturnal Lunus-Taurus ;^c and which fights with and pursues the flying, one-eyed, Arimaspians, storm-and-darkness monster who rides upon the tempest, and of whom Polyphêmos is a protagonistic type, as he essays to steal and hide the solar golden egg, Martanda, the Vedic egg-sun, “a smooth lump, destitute of any modifications of shape,”^d called in Egypt of old “the golden ape of the gods without hands or feet.”^e

As to the Arimaspians ;—“ Among the mythologies of many nations,” says Miss J. E. Harrison, “ it is not the architect, nor the craftsman Cyclops, who most often meets us, but the one-eyed cannibal robber-giant. Among peoples the most diverse—Kelts, Teutons, Oghuzians, Esthonians, Indians, dwellers in Polynesia—we light upon legends which look like shattered shreds of the Homeric tale. . . . In Zakynthos the peasants of to-day stand in awe of monsters of superhuman strength, with one eye only in the middle of the forehead ; it is of huge size, and spurts out fire,” the lightning flashing from the angry sun ; and she quotes a saying to one “ about to go into a strange land,” “ Beware lest the one-eyed fall upon you and eat you ”^f (οἱ μονόμματα ῥιχνούντ’ καὶ σε τρώνε).

^a Prof. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 564.

^b Vide *inf.* Appendix : On the meaning of the name “ Arimaspians.”

^c Robert Brown, Jun. *The Unicorn*, sec. iv. Deus Lunus ; *The Law of Kosmic Order*, sec. xi. Taurus, the Bull.

^d Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 49.

^e *Funereal Ritual*, cap. xlii.

^f *Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature*, 1892, pp. 30-31.

Prof. Sayce,* also, cites various instances of the myth of the one-eyed monster, which he regards as being Turanian in origin. Thus, amongst the Turkish-Tatar Oghuzians, this creature is called Depé-Ghoz ("Eye-in-the-crown"). He also appears in Basque legends, and generally dwells in a cave, *i.e.* "the blind cave of night." As there are many Gryphons, so there are many Arimaspians; and Polyphêmos has numerous fellows and friends.

The basis of the myth is the one eye, solar or lunar, glaring wildly through the storm by day or night; or also, as regards the moon, in the gloomy, cloudy night; and if it be asked, How is it consistent that the gold guarded by the Gryphon should be identical with the eye of the Arimaspians, let me answer, in the words of Dr. Paley: "A curious but well-known characteristic of solar myths is the identification of the sun both with the agent or patient, and with the thing or object on or by which the act is exercised. Ixion is the sun, and so is Ixion's wheel. . . . Now this, so far from being an objection to the theory, goes far to confirm it. It is *the unconscious blending of two modes of representation.*"^b Thus Hêraklês (the sun) shoots his arrows (rays) at Hêlios (the sun), who, admiring his courage, gives him a golden boat-cup (the sun), in which to sail over ocean. This is one phase of what I have styled the Law of Reduplication.

With reference to the statement of Hêrodotos, that the Arimaspians seize the gold "from underneath the Gryphons," an incident upon which Erman lays special stress in connexion with his theory, it is literally true in the myth; for it is when the Sun, which is as it were upheld by its Gryphon-guardians, is sinking, that the Darkness-power seizes it from under them and drags it down to the Underworld.

As to the Amazons, against whom the Gryphons war, they are, in the words of Sir G. W. Cox, "mysterious beings, of whom it is enough to say that they are opposed or slaughtered not only by Theseus, but by Heraklês, Achilles, and Bellerophôn, and that thus they must be classed with the other beings in whom are seen reflected the features of the cloud enemy of India. Their beauty, their ferocity, their seclusion, all harmonise with the phenomena of the clouds in their varying aspects of storm and sunshine."^c In a word, they appear in Greek mythology as the constant opponents of the powers of light. In mythic history they are connected with Skythia and the regions adjacent,^d and Hêrodotos says

* *Principles of Comparative Philology*, p. 321 *et seq.*

^b *On the Origin of Solar Myths*, Dublin Review, July, 1879, p. 109.

^c *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, edit. 1882, p. 309. ^d Vide *Iliad*, iii. 189; Herod. iv. 110-117

that the Scythians called them Oiorpata (= ἀνδροκτόνοι). The name "Amazon" is not Hellenic, and its usual derivation is purely arbitrary. Some have connected it with an Armenian word, *maza*, said to mean "moon" (*cf.* the Sanskrit *mās*, "moon"; *māsa*, "month"); and the Amazons were associated "with the Ephesian Artemis"^a (probably *amazôn* is intensive and = *polymastos*), "who was worshipped as Amazô,"^b and whose temple they were said to have founded.^c is in allusion to this connexion with the crescent-moon that Soudas speaks of the Ἀμαζόνειον κέρας.

Such, then, is the origin and meaning of the Gryphon-Myth;^d and truly has it been said that "Heraldry is the short-hand of history. In its figures, properly interpreted, we read the chronicle of centuries."

^a Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, 256.

^b Sir G. W. Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, 309, note p. 8.

^c The historical basis, as distinguished from the Natural Phenomena basis, of the Amazon-legend is supplied by the Hittite cult (rather than by the Phœnician cult, as Duncker, *History of Greece*, i. 62 *et seq.*, holds) of the great non-Aryan goddess of Asia Minor, known as Kybelê, Kybêbê, Omphalê, Ma, and Artemis Ephesia. Thus Prof. Sayce remarks:—"Her handmaids and ministers, the Amazons, are certainly of Hittite origin, and are usually connected with places where there are Hittite remains." (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* vii. 273.)

^d Apropos of the Gryphon in the Purat Valley (*vide sup.* p. 368), "twenty-four gold gryphons of Assyrian workmanship" have been "discovered near Kiev on the Dnieper" (Rev. Is. Taylor, *The Alphabet*, ii. 216, note 1); and, in illustration of the non-evil nature of the Gryphon, and of his being on the side of the gods against the powers of evil (*vide sup.* p. 358), we find that in Indian mythology "the shades of the blessed" were said to be conveyed to the paradise "on the summit of Mount Meru . . . in celestial chariots drawn by winged gryphons" (Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, 380).

APPENDIX.

ON THE MEANING OF THE NAME "ARIMASPIAN."

If, contrary to the opinion of many eminent authorities, we agree with Donaldson, Jacob Grimm, and Professor Rawlinson, that the Scythians were an Aryan and not a Turanian (Finnic-Tatar) race; or, if at least we agree that they spoke an Aryan dialect, and that Hêrodotos has correctly reported the meaning of the word "Arimaspan" in the *Scythian language*, a further question still remains. For the Arimaspians were not Scythians, and if they had any actual historical existence (which they probably had) they were certainly not one-eyed, nor is there any evidence to show that they were Aryans. The derivation, according to which ἄριμα = ἔν and σποῦ = ὀφθαλμός has been supplemented by another, according to which ἀρι = ἔν and μασπός = ὀφθαλμός, a circumstance scarcely calculated to increase belief in the correctness of either; whilst Donaldson, noticing that the Arimaspians are styled by Aischylos "equestrians" (ἵπποβάμονες—hence the legendary hatred of the Gryphon for the horse), derives the name from a Median form Orim-αῖπα, "Horse of light." Now a possible derivation must never be accepted when it runs counter to the main gist of a myth; the Arimaspians are not connected with light but with darkness, and are therefore not horsemen of light.

A singular passage in the *Iliad* (ii. 782-3) states that the couch (grave-bed) of the rebel giant Typhôeus, who was hurled by Zeus to the Underworld, was εἰν Ἀρίμοις, rendered by the Latin poets Inarine (Vergil, *Aen.* 716; Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 89), in the land of the Arimoi, a region which, like the Dionysiak Nysa, has been placed by different authorities in various terrestrial localities. It may next be noticed that we find an historical tribe, the Arimai, amongst the Hittite peoples of the north of Nahri, the Assyrian form of Aram Naharaim ("of the two rivers," i.e. Mesopotamia), circ. B.C. 820 (Professor Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* vii. 292. Cf. the Urume of the Assyrian Inscriptions, the Urima of Ptolemy, now Urum on the Euphrates). The Arimai thus adjoined Armenia, which was "regarded by the Accadians as the cradle of their race," though "afterwards the home of the Aryan Medes" (Sayce, *Introd. to the Science of Language*, ii. 370). The Hittites, like the Akkadai, were a non-Aryan and non-Semitic people; and it is therefore in some Turanian dialect that the meaning of the name "Arimai" must be sought.

The Rev. Isaac Taylor observes, "Arimi, according to Strabo and Hesychius, meant 'apes.' Naturally no word for 'ape' is found in the Siberian vocabularies. Possibly Arimi meant 'little men.' In the Turkic and Mongolic languages *ar* or *er* is a 'man,' and 'little' is *hene* in Yenissei" (*Etruscan Researches*, p. 318). There is no reason to think that Arimai meant "little men"; but with the Mongolic *er* (Strahlenberg, in his *Vocabularium Calmucko-Mungalicum*, 1738, gives "*are*, a man") we may compare the Akkadian *eri* (Assyrian, *zicaru*, Heb. *zokhar*, "a male"), "man." *Ma* means "land" alike in Akkadian and Etruscan, and also in several of the Finnic-Tatar dialects. Its Assyrian equivalent is *padinnu* "plain," e.g. Padan-Aram. Thus *ma*, by the addition of the individualising affix *da*, becomes Mada (Media), i.e. "the land." The Arimai would therefore be

"the men of the plain," Lowlanders. But the nomadic lowlander of Central Asia, the native home of the horse, is preeminently a horseman. So Hêrodotos says of the Scythians, "One and all of them shoot from horseback" (Herod. iv. 46). Now, as noticed, the Aryan Medes established themselves in Armenia, and may well have described the equestrian Lowlanders as Arimaspians, *i. e.* "Horse men (warriors) of the plains"; the *horse* or *courser*, *i. e.* "the Rapid (animal)" from a Teutonic root *har*, "to run" (*cf.* Lat. *currere*), is called in Sanscrit *asva*, the Zend *aspa*, Gk. *ikkos* and *hippos*, and Lat, *ekvus* (*equus*). In this case the name "Arimaspian" is a compound of Aryan and Turanian words, and would be a general term for the nomadic, equestrian, warrior tribes of Asia, who were certainly, in the words of Aischylos, *στρατὸν ἵπποβάμον.* That the name "Arimaspian" is connected with "horse" is, moreover, exceedingly probable, on account of the intense (legendary) antipathy, otherwise inexplicable, of the Gryphon for that animal.

Soudas appears to connect Ἀρίμα with Ἀριμάνιος, the Zarathustrian Angrômainyush, Añro-maīnyas, or Añgra-mainyu, the Parsi Aharman and the modern Persian Ahriman, "the Hurtful-spirit" (Haug), "the Attacking-spirit" (Tiele), "l'Esprit d'Angoisse" (Darmesteter). But this is inadmissible, especially as Ἀρειμάνιος (Plutarch, *Peri Is.* xlvii.) is the proper Greek form of the name.

At the next meeting, February 22nd, 1884, in illustration of the above communication:—

A. W. Franks, Esq., F.R.S., V.P., exhibited a Gold Armlet, each side of the opening of which is formed of a Griffin in full relief.

C. H. Read, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited and presented a drawing of a "Griffin's Claw," preserved in the British Museum.

Both these objects are fully described in *Proc.*, 2d S., vol. ix. pp. 249-251.

H. S. M.

"The Griffin," by Edward Peacock, Esq. (*The Antiquary*, Nov. 1884, No. 57, vol. x. pp. 89-92), is an interesting addition to the literature on the subject.

XIX.—*Ptolemy's Geography of the British Isles.* By HENRY BRADLEY, Esq.

Read June 21, 1883.

To the Alexandrian Claudius Ptolemy, who flourished about the middle of the second century after Christ, belongs the honour of having achieved the final systematisation of the results of ancient research in the two sciences of astronomy and geography. His treatise on Geography continued to be the standard text-book on its own subject, as his *Almagest* was the standard text-book on astronomy, until the brilliant discoveries of the fifteenth century called the attention of Europe to their defects.

The portion of Ptolemy's Geography relating to Britain has been for three centuries the subject of much elaborate discussion among English antiquaries. With regard, however, to the identification of very many of Ptolemy's positions, the conclusions of recent authorities of eminence are very far from being unanimous. This divergence of opinion is in part due to the imperfections of Ptolemy's own knowledge of British geography; but to a much greater extent it may be ascribed to the extreme laxity of the methods of investigation which have usually been adopted. In attempting an original examination of this subject I am deeply sensible of the disadvantages arising from my unavoidably scanty acquaintance with the work of previous inquirers. The strongly favourable opinion of some eminent scholars, to whom an outline of the present Paper has been submitted, has, however, induced me to venture on offering it to the Society.

The information supplied by Ptolemy consists essentially of a table of latitudes and longitudes. From the geographer's own statement (*Geog.* I. xvii. 2, II. i. 9) it appears that he intended this table to serve as a sufficient guide to the draughtsman without the necessity of any reference to previously existing delineations. It would seem unquestionable that in order to make any trustworthy use of Ptolemy's indications of positions our first step must be to employ them in the construction of such a map as Ptolemy himself would have

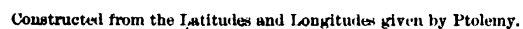
drawn.* Obvious as this proposition appears, however, its truth has been by many eminent writers practically overlooked. In some cases it would seem that the places mentioned by Ptolemy have been identified with known localities purely on the ground of supposed similarities in local names, without any regard to the positions assigned to them by the geographer. Some writers, again, have contented themselves with laying down Ptolemy's angular measurements, converted into linear distances, on the map of the country as now known, and have in this way arrived at conclusions which an inspection of the Ptolemaic map would at once show to be extravagantly improbable.^b But even those inquirers who have founded their theories on a delineation of the whole or part of Ptolemy's map have not, so far as I am aware, been sufficiently careful to avoid sophisticating the evidence of Ptolemy by the introduction of details derived from their own independent geographical knowledge. Moreover, instead of following rigorously, for better and worse, the text of some one editor, they have generally yielded more or less to the temptation to indulge in desultory attempts at textual criticism.

The map subjoined to this Paper is intended to be a strictly accurate rendering into graphic form of Ptolemy's table of British positions, as represented in the Greek edition of Nobbe (Leipzig, 1846).^c The projection employed is that authorised by Ptolemy himself (*Geog.* II. i. 10); that is to say, a projection in which the meridians and parallels are represented by straight lines at right angles to each other, the proportion in length between the degree of latitude and that of longitude being that which is correct for the middle parallel of the map. The positions assigned by Ptolemy are indicated, in the case of towns, by the usual small circle, and in other cases by a small cross. It will be observed that in completing the outline of the coast I have made use of *straight* lines to

* It may perhaps be imagined that we might content ourselves with the maps which are given in the MSS. of Ptolemy, which are presumably reproductions of those drawn under the author's superintendence by a certain Agathodæmon. By taking these maps as the basis of our discussion, however, we should be liable to be misled by details introduced by the draughtsman, for which Ptolemy affords no authority. However valuable these maps may be as aids to the criticism of Ptolemy's text, they cannot be made a substitute for the text itself.

^b A recent exemplification of this fallacious method is supplied by the Papers by Mr. Gordon Hills in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1878 and 1881, which have gained a sort of authoritative rank far in excess of their real merits, through the deference paid to them in Prof. Rhys' work on *Celtic Britain*.

^c The first copy I made of the map was drawn from the text of Ptolemy as given in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, and the conical projection was employed instead of the rectilinear one described above. There is, however, no very striking difference between the two delineations.



connect the points laid down on Ptolemy's authority. This, no doubt, gives to the delineation a formal and inartistic appearance; but the picturesque undulations of outline, in which map-makers delight, would have been liable to suggest identifications for which there was no real foundation. With regard to the territories occupied by the several nationalities, the information afforded by Ptolemy is almost entirely confined to the enumeration of the towns which belonged to each people. The tribal boundaries as I have drawn them can therefore claim only a loose approach to correctness. I have however preferred to insert them rather than to leave the map seriously incomplete as a representation of Ptolemy's statements. The precise extent to which these boundaries possess authority is in most cases determined by the towns included within the several territories. There is only a single instance amongst the British positions of Ptolemy in which the reading of Dr. Nobbe's text results in any graphical impossibility. This is in the case of Salinæ, mentioned by Ptolemy as a town of the Catyeuchlani. The position assigned to this place (long. 18° , lat. $55\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$) is inconsistent with the situation of the territory of the tribe to which it belonged, and I have therefore found it necessary to omit this name. In every other instance the map is a faithful representation of the readings of the edition above referred to, although there is reason to doubt whether Ptolemy is really responsible for all the serious errors which appear in the positions, especially of inland towns.

Before speaking in detail of Ptolemy's special geography of Britain, it will be well to say a few words respecting the character of his knowledge of geography in general. It is not at all uncommon to find even educated people entertaining the strange notion that "the ancients" believed that the earth was flat. Of course the sphericity of the earth was a commonplace of philosophy ages before Ptolemy was born. Moreover, Ptolemy's estimate of the size of the earth was surprisingly near to the truth. He tells us (*Geog.* I. xi. 2) that the length of a degree of a great circle is 500 stadia, which makes the circumference of the earth one-sixth too small. Curiously enough, an earlier Alexandrian geographer, Eratosthenes, had committed an opposite error of precisely equal amount, having made the circumference one-sixth too large. If there had been any one to take the average between these two estimates, the resulting calculation of the size of the globe would have been almost absolutely correct. Ptolemy's degrees of longitude are measured from the western extremity of the known world, *i.e.*, from the Fortunate Islands, and his degrees of latitude like ours from the equator. As he divides his degrees not into minutes but into twelfths, any error in his mea-

surements smaller than 5' may be regarded as non-existent. It may be mentioned that the terms latitude and longitude (referring to the "breadth" and "length" of the known world) seem to have been the invention of Ptolemy himself.

In criticising the correctness of Ptolemy's geographical descriptions, it should be remembered that he had to depend for his information on the reports of travellers who were unfurnished with the instruments which we consider indispensable for the ascertaining of geographical data. The ancient navigators had no mariner's compass, no nautical almanac, no sextant, and no chronometer. Although Ptolemy's map of Britain may at first sight seem grotesquely inaccurate, yet if we consider the nature of the ancient means of observation we shall find abundant reason for admiring the industry and ingenuity by which their disadvantages were so largely surmounted.

On reference to the accompanying map it will be seen that the outline of what we call England bears a very recognisable general resemblance to that of the country as now known. But instead of Scotland appearing, as it ought to do, as a continuation of England towards the north, it is twisted round sharply to the east. Ptolemy's map of North Britain, in fact, looks like a map of Scotland turned over on its side.

It has been supposed by some writers (amongst others by no less eminent an authority than Mr. Skene) that this extraordinary mistake originated in the confused and extravagant reports which the fleet and army under Agricola rendered respecting their North British expeditions. Mr. Skene quotes Tacitus (*Agr.* 25) to show that Agricola's forces on this occasion were in a mood little favourable to any accurate description of the country in which they were engaged. This explanation I am unable to accept, for two reasons. In the first place the mistakes and exaggerations of Agricola's companions might no doubt have resulted in a very distorted delineation of the outline of the coast, but not in a regular and consistent substitution of due east for due north, which is what we find in Ptolemy's map. In the second place, Tacitus, who wrote the account of this very expedition, did not share at all in Ptolemy's mistake. Tacitus states that earlier writers had compared the shape of Britain to that of an axe or small shield. This comparison he admits to be fairly correct for the nearer half of Britain, but the remoter half, he says, extends northwards in the form of a prolonged wedge.

My own hypothesis in explanation of Ptolemy's mistake is, that either he or one of his predecessors had before him three sectional maps, representing

severally what we call England, Scotland, and Ireland, and drawn approximately to scale, but without meridians or parallels. It was no doubt then, as now, usual for a map to be enclosed in a rectangular frame, with sides towards the four cardinal points. In fitting the three maps together, Ptolemy (or his predecessor) fell into the mistake of turning the oblong map of Scotland the wrong way. I think it is even possible to discover the process by which he was led astray. From some cause, he had assigned to Ireland a latitude so much too high that if he had given to the map of Scotland its proper orientation, a portion of that country must have fallen right across the western island. This theory as to the origin of Ptolemy's error has not, so far as I know, been precisely anticipated,^a but I believe it is the only one yet proposed which adequately accounts for the facts. If it be sound, it will have a decisive bearing on several disputed questions relating to the identification of Ptolemy's positions.

I will now proceed to discuss in detail Ptolemy's description of the coast of Alvion, or, as he elsewhere calls it, Great Britain.^b It will be convenient to begin this examination at the point where Ptolemy's great error commences, viz. at the Solway Frith. In accordance with the preceding remarks, the reader should compare Ptolemy's map of North Britain with a modern map of Scotland laid upon its side.

The Solway Frith is called by Ptolemy "Ituna." This name is plainly identical with that of the river Eden. We thus learn that the common derivation of Eden from the Anglo-Saxon *ed-denu*, river-valley, is erroneous, and that the true etymology must be either Celtic or pre-Celtic, identical probably with that of the river-names Ithon and Ythan. Although the present name of the estuary is not mentioned by Ptolemy, it seems to have existed in his time, and to have given its appellation to the adjacent tribe of the Selgovæ. The ablest Celtic philologists, however, invert this order of derivation, and trace the tribal name to the root *selg*, to hunt. There can be little doubt that the population next in order on the map, the Novantæ, received their name from the river Novius, now the Nith. It is remarkable that the inhabitants of the district continued to be designated from the river after it had received its present name. Bede mentions them as Niduari. Ptolemy's "peninsula of the Novantæ," ending in a cape named from the same people, is obviously the peninsula of Galloway; but it will be seen that

^a The nearest approach to an anticipation seems to be the view of General Roy, that a portion of the map followed by Ptolemy had been accidentally torn off and joined again in the wrong place. This explanation, however, is both far less probable and far less adequate than the one given above.

^b The use of this name by Ptolemy shows that our island is so called as being the greater of the British islands, and not, as has been sometimes supposed, in contradistinction to Brittany.

he was completely in error with regard to its form and the direction in which it projects from the mainland.

Three of the names occurring in this part of the map are still retained—Deva (now the Dee), Rerigonius (Loch Ryan), and Clota (the Clyde). Luce Bay was Abravannus, which is apparently the Cymric *Aber-afon*, “river-mouth.”

The Cape Epidium is evidently the Mull of Cantire. I venture to think that no doubt would ever have arisen with regard to this identification if the interpreters of Ptolemy had always based their investigations on a construction of the Ptolemaic map. The island Epidium, off the north coast of “Ivernia,” I believe to be Cantire over again—a duplication naturally resulting from Ptolemy's having worked, in the manner previously suggested, from separate maps of Ireland and Scotland. A map of Ireland now before me shows in its upper right-hand corner the peninsula of Cantire and the islands of Islay, Jura, and Arran. If the map extended further to the north, the next considerable island to be included would be Mull. These facts appear to afford a hint respecting the identification of the islands mentioned by Ptolemy as adjacent to this part of the Irish coast. He places on the sixty-second parallel Ebuda, another Ebuda, and Ricina; and a little further north is Maleus. These five islands are collectively called by him the Ebudæ. A little south of these is Monacæda. The two Ebudæ proper may be identified with Islay and Jura, the close mutual proximity of which may account for their being bracketed together under a common name. Ricina, from its name and its position near to Fair Head, seems to be Rathlin (Irish *Rechra*, genitive *Rechrann*). Maleus—the position and the name again concurring—appears to be Mull. There is some uncertainty as to the reading of Monacæda. Some editions have Monarina; and Mr. Skene, on the evidence of the coincidence of name, identifies the island with Arran. It seems, however, probable that both Moncæda and Monarina are corruptions of Monapia. This name, which is given by Pliny as that of an island in the Irish Sea, is the legitimate phonetic ancestor of Manaw, the Welsh name of the Isle of Man. It is more likely that Ptolemy should have omitted to mention Arran than that he should have overlooked the Isle of Man, and the situation of “Monacæda” agrees better with the latter than with the former. Ptolemy's Mona, placed by him near the Wexford coast, is certainly not the Isle of Man, but Anglesey.

The Ebudæ (Hebudes) are referred to by Pliny, but the situation assigned to them by the earlier writer differs extremely from that given by Ptolemy. It seems on the whole most probable that Ptolemy is correct in his application of the name, and that his predecessor had confounded the Hebudes with the

Orkneys. As is well-known, an early mis-reading of Hebudes has given rise to the modern name Hebrides, which has been strangely misappropriated to the north-western group of islands.

Returning to the coast-line of the mainland, we find the Lemannonian Bay, corresponding in position with the entrance to Loch Fyne. The name, however, bears an obvious resemblance to that of Loch Lomond, and Mr. Skene has suggested that Ptolemy's informants must have imagined that that lake communicated with the sea. A more probable supposition would surely be that Loch Lomond (from the Gaelic *Leamhan*, elm trees) had given the name of Lemannonii (compare Damnonii) to the population of the district extending from its shores to those of Loch Fyne.

The river Longus is happily identified by Mr. Skene with the river known in Gaelic as "the long river" (*Avon fhada*) and in English as the Add.

The western coast from this point northwards was evidently very slightly known to Ptolemy's authorities. He does not mention a single town in the western half of the country north of the Clyde, and in the outline of the coast after the river Longus he indicates only three points—the river Itys, Volsas Bay, and the river Nabæus. Ptolemy's coast-line is so inaccurate that any precise identification of these places is quite out of the question, unless we can find some clue in correspondences of local nomenclature. I would suggest that the name Itys may possibly be preserved in Loch Etive, that of Volsas in Loch Alsh, and that of Nabæus (or as others read Nabarus) in the river Naver. The situation of the two former agrees satisfactorily enough, but the Naver discharges itself on the true northern coast (Ptolemy's eastern) and not on the western coast as the position assigned by Ptolemy would indicate.

In spite of Ptolemy's mistaken orientation of the map, he could not set aside the universal concurrence of evidence which placed the Orcades and Thule in the ocean to the north of Britain. In his map these islands are consequently shown as opposite to what is really the west coast. Between the Orcades and the mainland is the island of Dumna, which would appear to be either Skye or the Long Island (Lewis and Harris). If Dumna be Skye, there is a possibility that the dimensions given by Ptolemy to Thule may be those of the Long Island, as represented in the map from which he copied.

Cape Wrath is called by Ptolemy, Tarvedûm (*Ταρουεδοῦμ*). Earlier writers have Tauroedunum (compare Ptolemy's *Ταροδοῦνον* in Gaul), the Celtic etymon of which seems to be *tarw*, a bull. Possibly the headland was so called from some fancied resemblance in the shape of the rocks. The next cape, Virvedrum,

seems to be identified by its name with Farout Head. This very English-looking appellation is presumably an adaptation of a Gaelic name. The old Celtic prefix *vir* becomes in Gaelic *for*, and the word *fothar*, the equivalent of *vedrum*, would in composition lose its initial *f*, as it does in Dunnottar (anciently Dunfoeder). In this way the ancient name, Virvedrum, would by normal phonetic development assume a form which might easily be corrupted into "Farout." The last of the three headlands on the right of Ptolemy's map, Verubium, is presumably Duncansby Head.

The identifications just proposed are at variance with those advocated by Mr. Skene, who considers that Ptolemy ignored Cape Wrath, and supposed that the coast extended in a straight line from Ross-shire to Dunnet Head, which he identifies with Tarvedûm, so that Virvedrum and Verubium would correspond to Duncansby Head and the Noss. There is something to be said for this hypothesis—amongst other things, that it would make the Nabæus correspond correctly in position with the Naver. But the phonetic correspondence of Virvedrum and Farout, if it be sound, is of course fatal to this theory.

The island Ocitis, in the extreme right of the map, doubtless represents one of the Orkneys in the position which it occupied in the map which Ptolemy followed. The name no longer exists, as all these islands have received new names from the Scandinavians.

Ptolemy gives Orcas as an alternative name for Tarvedûm; but the name must have belonged to the cape nearest to the Orkneys, *i.e.* either to Dunnet Head or Duncansby Head.

Ptolemy's outline of the eastern (regarded by him as the southern) coast of Scotland is singularly correct, the remarkable bend about the Moray Firth being very distinctly recognisable. Most of the river-names given in this part of the map still survive. The Ila is the Ulie, otherwise called Helmsdale. The Loxa has been identified with the Loth, with which it corresponds well enough in position, though I do not know whether the identity of the name is phonologically admissible. The position given in some copies of Ptolemy would allow us to identify the Loxa with the Lossie in Moray, which would involve less difficulty. Varar, the name of the Moray Firth, is identical with the modern river-name Farrar, although the lower portion of this river is now called the Beaully. The Tuæsis has changed its name to Spey. The Celnus (a Gaelic Caolan) seems to be the stream which runs by the town of Cullen. After passing the headland Tæxalum (the north-eastern angle of Aberdeenshire) we come to the Deva (now the Dee), which gave its name to a town, Devana; then to the

Tava (the Tay), which similarly gave its name to the town of Tameia. The Tina appears from its position to be the Eden. Next comes the estuary Boderia, which is evidently the Firth of Forth. The etymology of Boderia (or Bodotria, as Tacitus calls it) is evident from an old Irish gloss quoted by Zeuss, which renders "*de rivo turbulento*" by *dintsruth buadarthe*. The town of Alauna evidently derives its name from the little river Allen, which falls into the Forth near Stirling.

The deflected portion of Ptolemy's map includes not only Scotland, but the east coast of England as far as the Wear. It is remarkable that the Solway and the Wear—the points at which the deflection commences respectively on the west and the east coasts—have precisely the same true latitude. That is to say, the division-line between the two separate maps which Ptolemy followed ran exactly east and west, just as my hypothesis requires that it should have been intended to run. The force of this corroboration is not lessened by the admission that the extraordinary precision with which the line was drawn must have been due as much to the good fortune as to the skill of the ancient surveyors. A further confirmation will be found in the manner in which Ptolemy represents the coast-line from the Forth to the Wear. If the reader will cut a map of Great Britain in two along the line from the Solway to the mouth of the Wear, and then placing the northern half on its side, attempt to join the two parts together, he will find it necessary both to shorten the distance from the Forth to the Wear, and to bring the Wear down to about the position occupied by the Tees. Now this is precisely what Ptolemy has done.

The rivers Alne (Alaunus) and Wear (Vedra) still bear the names by which they are mentioned in Ptolemy. The Tweed and the Tyne are both ignored. The latter omission is somewhat surprising, but may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that the name of Tina had been given—whether rightly or by mistake—to the Fifeshire Eden.

On the coast between the Wear and the Humber (Abus) Ptolemy mentions only three points: Dunum Bay, the Bay of the Gabrantuici—otherwise called the bay of the good harbour—and the Cape of Ocelum. The identification of these points will probably never be decisively settled. Ptolemy places Dunum Bay on the same latitude with Eboracum; but no importance whatever can be attached to this fact, inasmuch as his internal geography is evidently derived from a source different from (and much inferior to) that which he has used for the coast outline. His delineations of the coast between the Vedra and the Abus bear a curiously close resemblance in configuration to the true coast-line from

the Tweed to the Humber. It would be a possible, if a bold hypothesis, that Ptolemy had before him a correct outline of the coast from the Tweed downwards, but erroneously fancied that its initial point was at the Wear. If we could be at all certain of this, our course would be perfectly clear. Dunum Bay would then be the mouth of the Tees, the "well harboured" bay would be (very appropriately) at Scarborough, and Ocelum would be Flamborough Head. This last identification would be beyond question if we could accept the etymology favoured by Mr. Elton and others, which derives Ocelum from the Cymric *uchel*, high. But it is not probable that the old Celtic *uxel* had in Ptolemy's time assumed the form *uchel*, nor that *uchel* would have been represented by him as *Οκελον*. It is not impossible that Ocelum may be Spurn Head; but on the whole I am disposed, though not very confidently, to adhere to the identifications above indicated.

The native form of Abus was most probably *Ab*, which is of frequent occurrence as a Celtic river-name. It may, however, have been the well known *aber*, estuary, in which case Ptolemy's orthography is a mistake for Abarus.

The names of the two peoples inhabiting Yorkshire—the Brigantes and the Parisi—seem to denote respectively the inhabitants of the "highlands," and those of the Parth-îs, or "lower district."*

The Metaris estuary is of course the Wash. The tongue-like projection to the south of this estuary is a very distorted representation of Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Essex. Ptolemy gives to the population of Norfolk and Suffolk the name of Simeni. This is probably a mistake for the well-known name of Iceni, found in Tacitus and Antoninus, the words *Εικενοι* and *Σιμενοι* being very much alike when written. There seems to be no authority for the usually accepted long quantity of the e in Iceni. The Garriennus is now the Yare, the name having passed through the intermediate forms Gerne and Yerne.

The Blackwater has in Ptolemy the name of Eidumania, in which we seem to have the Celtic word for deep (*domun*, in modern Welsh *dwfn*). The Jamesa estuary is, of course, the Thames, the name being obviously mis-written for Tamesa (*cf.* in Tamesæ *Æstuario*, *Tac. Ann.* xiv. 32). The islands Toliapis and Cöünnus can only be Sheppey and Thanet respectively, although Ptolemy has considerably mistaken their positions. We have it on the authority of Bede that Thanet was formerly separated from the mainland by a sea-channel of some width. The Cantian promontory is commonly identified with the North Foreland. This identification appears unlikely, because the North Foreland is on the isle of

* The first portion of the word Parisi cannot be *parth*, but it may perhaps be some synonymous derivative from the same root. Compare the Parisii of Gaul.

Thanet. The South Foreland, which has been suggested by some writers, is more probable, but I prefer to identify the Cantian promontory with Shellness Point in Sandwich Haven, on account of its proximity to Rutupiæ, now Richborough.

The inclination of the south coast is given by Ptolemy with a tolerable approach to correctness, so that we are able to apply a sort of fixed scale to his measurements. By this means I believe it will be possible satisfactorily to settle several much debated questions respecting the identification of the positions which Ptolemy has laid down.

It must be borne in mind that Ptolemy's distances in longitude were obtained not from astronomical observations, but from reductions of itinerary distances. I have previously mentioned that his estimate of the circumference of the earth was one-sixth too small. His angular measurements must therefore be reduced in this proportion, so that one of his degrees will really correspond to 50' of our measure. But in applying this result to his measurements of the south coast, there is a further correction which it is necessary to make. We find that he has made the latitude of this coast on the average 2° too high. The consequence is that his degrees of longitude are here four per cent. shorter than he would have made them if he had known the latitude correctly. This rectification makes Ptolemy's degree of longitude in this region equal only to 48' of true measure, so that we have to deduct one-fifth from his distances in longitude to reduce them to their real value. The difference in longitude between Cantium and the Tamar (Tamarus) is given by Ptolemy as 6° 20' of his measure, which, according to the principle of calculation just explained, is equal to 5° 4' of ours. Now the actual distance in longitude between Cantium (taking its position as 1° 20' east of Greenwich) and the nearest part of Plymouth Sound is 5° 27', so that Ptolemy's measurement is only 23' short of the truth. This close approach to accuracy shows that for this portion of the coast Ptolemy's means of information must have been unusually good. We have therefore reason to expect that his measurements will yield trustworthy results when applied to the identification of the intermediate points.

Proceeding westward from Cantium, we come first to the New Harbour, distant from that point 1° of Ptolemy's measure, or 48 of our minutes. The resulting position, 0° 32' east of Greenwich, is about two miles west of Hastings. Although Hastings is now without a harbour, it is known formerly to have possessed one of great importance, and it still ranks at the head of the list of the Cinque Ports. Forty minutes further west, Ptolemy places a river Trisanton, which ought to

fall exactly on the meridian of Greenwich. The mouth of the Sussex Ouse is only two miles from the point thus indicated. Although, however, the Trisanton seems to correspond in position with the Ouse, it is now certain that the river intended by Ptolemy is the Arun. In the *Academy* for April 28th and May 19th, 1883, I showed that Trisanton or Trisantona is the original form of Trent or Tarrant, and occurs in a hitherto misread passage of Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 31) as the name of our great Midland river. It has subsequently been pointed out by Mr. R. Nevill that my conclusions necessitate the identification of Ptolemy's Trisanton with the Arun, that river appearing in old maps as the *Tarant*. I may mention that the name of Trisanton seems to have belonged to no fewer than six British rivers. One of these is the Hampshire Test, this river being mentioned in Anglo-Saxon charters as the *Tersta*.

The position of the Great Harbour, 3° from Cantium, answers to long. 1° 4' west. This is the exact longitude of the entrance to Portsmouth Harbour, with which the Great Harbour has been almost universally identified. This identification rests on strong historical grounds quite independent of Ptolemy's longitudes. It will be seen on reference to the map that Ptolemy has placed Venta (Winchester) exactly in its true position relatively to the Great Harbour.

Up to this point we find Ptolemy's distance in longitude almost absolutely correct. His loss of 23', before referred to, is therefore to be localised somewhere between Portsmouth and the Tamar. In order to assign more accurately the part of the coast in which this error occurred, it will be well, as the identification of the intervening points is uncertain, to commence our measurements at the Tamarus and proceed eastward. Taking as the longitude of the Tamarus that of the eastern side of Plymouth Sound (4° 7' west), we shall find the position of Ptolemy's river Isaca to correspond to longitude 3° 3' west, the exact longitude of the mouth of the Axe. The Isaca has been commonly identified with the Exe, and it may seem strange that Ptolemy should have omitted the more important river. The names of Exe and Axe, however, are etymologically identical, and in Ptolemy's time were probably alike in form. If his authorities gave him two rivers of the same name not twenty miles apart he would naturally suppose that he had to make his choice between two conflicting reports of the position of one and the same river. The Alaunus or Alænus, 40' of Ptolemy's measure further to the east, should be at longitude 2° 31' west from Greenwich. The mouth of the Wey is at 2° 26', or 5' too far east. If the reading of Dr. Nobbe's edition be correct with regard to the position of Dunium, the identification of the Alaunus

with the Wey is confirmed by the obvious resemblance which the coast-line east of the Alaunus bears to the outline of the Isle of Purbeck.^a

It thus appears that Ptolemy's deficiency of 23' (true measure) in the distance from Cantium to the Tamarus is made up of 5' between the Axe and the Wey, and 18' between the Wey and Portsmouth. The latter portion of the error is probably due to a confusion between Portsmouth Harbour and the Southampton Water, the distances from the Great Harbour being measured eastward from the latter and westward from the former. The astonishing exactness of these measurements must be due in some degree to accident: but it must be remembered that the coast-line from the Straits of Dover to Plymouth is precisely the portion of the British shores which would naturally be most accurately known by Roman navigators. With the Cornish coast, lying remote from the Roman settlements, and dangerous to approach closely, they would probably be very slightly acquainted. It is therefore not surprising that west of the Tamar Ptolemy's measurements become quite unmanageable. The distance from the Tamar to the Lizard (Ocrinum or Damnonium), which is really about one degree, is magnified by him into nearly four degrees. The only intermediate point which he mentions is the mouth of the Cenion. If we are justified philologically in connecting Cenion with the local name of Kenwyn, it would follow that this river mouth must be identified with the estuary of the Fal. Ptolemy's measurements are here so obviously worthless that they need not form any difficulty in the way of this identification.

The Land's End is called by Ptolemy Antivestæum or Belerium. The latter name is used by an earlier writer, Posidonius, as the designation of the Cornish peninsula. Prof. Rhys explains it by the Irish *belre* (later *berla*), meaning "language." As this word is used frequently in the special sense of foreign language, Prof. Rhys draws the conclusion that the ancient inhabitants of Cornwall spoke a non-Celtic language. If it be permissible to suppose that *belre* originally meant "tongue" in the physical sense, the appropriateness of the word as a name for Cornwall will become much more obvious.

On the north side of the Damnonian peninsula, Hartland Point appears as the Cape of Hercules—a name which seems to support the somewhat unpopular

^a I was at one time inclined to identify the Alaunus with the Stour, on the ground that one of the tributaries of that river still bears the name of Allen. This, however, is one of the commonest of our river names, and there is no improbability in supposing that it may have belonged to both rivers. They are farther apart than are the Axe and the Exe.

theory that Ptolemy derived some portion of his British geography from reports of Phœnician or Carthaginian voyages.

The estuary of the Severn (Sabriana) is correctly laid down. On the south coast of Wales we have the rivers Tubius or Tobius (obviously the Towey), and Ratostathybius. The latter river agrees in position with the Neath or the Burry, but with regard to its name it seems to be the Towey over again. As the Towey makes a common estuary with the Taf, it seems possible that Ratostathybius may mean "the sands of Taf and Towey," in modern Welsh, *Traeth Taf a Thywi*.^a

After rounding Cape Octapitarum (St. David's Head) we come first to the river Tuerobis. This is evidently the Teifi, but the identity of the names is impossible phonologically unless we accept the ingenious suggestion of Prof. Rhys and read *Toveyóβιος* instead of *Tovepóβιος*. The Stuccia, from its name, may be inferred to be the Ystwyth. As the Latin word *fructus* has become in Welsh *ffrwyth*, the ancient form of Ystwyth would probably be Stucta, from which Ptolemy's Stuccia or Stucia is not very far removed. It may seem strange that so insignificant a stream as the Ystwyth should be mentioned by Ptolemy, while the Dovey and the Mawddach are ignored. Welsh tradition, however, relates, that in historical times a large tract of country (the so-called Cantref Gwaelod) has been submerged in Cardigan Bay. It is therefore possible that Ptolemy's outline of the west coast of Wales may, in his time, have been very nearly correct, and that the mouth of the Ystwyth may really have been the most conspicuous estuary in Wales north of the Teifi.^b

It is worthy of note that Ptolemy has correctly placed the cape of the Gangani (*i. e.* Braich-y-pwll, at the extremity of Carnarvonshire) due north of the mouth of the Teifi. The name of the people from whom the promontory is called is given in other editions of Ptolemy as Cancani. This form would accord with the Cangi of Tacitus, and would admit of a satisfactory explanation from the Welsh word *Caine*, a branch, which might be understood as referring to the form of the peninsula of Llyn. If Cancani be the correct reading, the form

^a The ancient form of the word *traeth* would be *tractos*.

^b This supposition enables us to account for the extraordinary fact that the town of Aberystwith, the name of which means "the mouth of the Ystwyth," does not stand on this river at all, but on the north bank of the Rheidol, while the Ystwyth discharges itself a mile further to the south. If the coast-line formerly stood a few miles west of its present position, the Ystwyth would receive the Rheidol as a tributary. The town at the mouth of the Ystwyth, being gradually driven back by the encroachments of the sea, would retain its original name even when it had ceased to be appropriate.

Gangani is probably due to the name having been assimilated to that of a tribe placed by Ptolemy on the west coast of Ireland.

It has been supposed by some writers that Ptolemy's outline of the north coast of Wales includes Anglesey as a part of the mainland, and that consequently the mouth of the Tœsobis represents the west end of the Menai Straits. The longitude assigned by Ptolemy to this river mouth no doubt favours this identification; and the fact that "Mona" has been already mentioned as an island off the Irish coast does not of itself form any serious objection. The real difficulty is that Ptolemy mentions neither capes nor rivers between the Tœsobis and the Seteïa estuary. On this account it seems necessary to regard the Tœsobis as the Conway, although the position given is materially incorrect, and the station Conovium in the Antonine Itinerary shows that in the second century the Conway already bore its present name. In the map accompanying the Latin edition of 1478 the Tœsobis is placed on the west coast, its position corresponding to that of the Mawddach.

An inspection of the map will at once suggest that the Seteïa (or Segcïa) and the Belisama are respectively the Dee and the Mersey. Ptolemy's distance from the Cape of the Gangani to the Seteïa estuary is 2° of longitude. If we deduct the correction due to Ptolemy's constant error, and the special correction for his error in the latitude of this part of the coast, this distance becomes equal to $1^{\circ} 32'$ —which may be regarded as absolutely correct. The name of the Belisama is remarkable from its apparent identity with that of the Gaulish goddess Belisama, or Belesamis, mentioned in inscriptions. The harbour of the Setantii (or Segantii) corresponds in position with the Ribble, and the estuary Moricambe with Morecambe Bay. This modern name must not, however, be regarded as evidence in favour of the identification, as it appears to have been adopted from Ptolemy in the last century. The earlier English antiquaries identified Moricambe with the estuary of the Wampool and the Waver, to which in consequence the name of "Moricambe Bay" is given in the Ordnance map. The etymon of Moricambe is probably the Welsh *Morgamlas*, an estuary (literally, sea-channel).

The difference in latitude between Moricambe and the Ituna (Solway) is very considerably too small. This error appears to be due in part to Ptolemy's having completely mistaken the form of the coast-line between the two points.

Ptolemy's outline of the coast of Alvion is on the whole much more nearly correct than we could have expected to find it. This outline must have been in part based on a collection of fairly accurate measurements of inland distances,

such, for example, as exists in the nearly contemporary Itinerary of Antoninus. Although, however, sound information respecting the interior of Britain must have been possessed by some of Ptolemy's predecessors, he himself does not appear to have had access to it, inasmuch as the positions which he assigns to the towns are in most cases very wide of the truth. Verolamium, for instance, is placed by him $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, or, according to his scale, ninety-five Roman miles, north of London, although the distance is correctly given in the Itinerary as only twenty-one Roman miles. Vinovium, which we know to have been Binchester, in Durham, is removed to the neighbourhood of the west coast. Obviously no reliance can be placed on any of Ptolemy's indications of the position of inland places not otherwise known to us; and the limits of the tribal territories are dependent almost entirely on the situation of the towns. Under these circumstances it does not seem that Ptolemy's internal geography of Britain is likely to repay the trouble of a minute examination. I shall, therefore, allow the map to speak for itself, except where the names given by Ptolemy may seem to admit of illustration from etymology, or from the statements of other authorities.

To begin with the northern portion of the island. The situation assigned to the Caledonii by Ptolemy, who makes them extend from Loch Fyne to the Moray Firth, does not seem to be easily reconcileable with the fact that the name of Dunkeld means "the fort of the Caledonians." It is probable that Ptolemy is here in error, because the name of the Vacomagi, who, on his showing, occupied Perthshire, Western Aberdeenshire, and the counties of Elgin and Banff, appears to mean literally the inhabitants of "the empty plain," *i.e.* the open country in opposition to the Caledonian woodland. The designation of "plain" cannot have belonged to a district cut across by the range of the Grampians.

The name of the Damnonii, whose territory corresponds nearly to the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, and Stirling, is interesting from its identity with that of the people of Cornwall and Devon. The most probable etymon seems to be the Celtic *domun* (modern Welsh *dwfn*), meaning "deep"; and both populations may have received their name from the deep valleys characteristic of the regions they inhabited. The town of Colania, belonging to the northern Damnonii, seems to have been named from a river Caolan, which may not impossibly be the modern Kelvin.

The name of the Otadeni is identical with the Guotodin of Welsh poetry, and their country seems to have included the Lothians, together with the counties of Berwick, Peebles, Selkirk, and Northumberland.

The Creones and the Carnonacæ, from the position given to them by

Ptolemy, seem to have some etymological connection with Loch Crerin and Loch Carron.

In the internal geography of South Britain there are only a few points which call for special notice.

The territory of the Cornavii, as shown in the map, reaches from the neighbourhood of the Dee to the estuary of the Severn. The only authority, however, for the extension of this tribe south of Wroxeter (Viroconium) is the position given to their town, Devana; and here there is certainly some mistake. The mention of the twentieth legion proves that Devana is identical with the Deva of the Itinerary (Chester), and therefore has been placed 2° too far south. It seems likely, however, that the situation ascribed to Devana is really that of some other Cornavian town accidentally omitted in Ptolemy's list. Possibly some similar accident may be the cause of the error in the position of Isca, which is unquestionably Exeter, although Ptolemy's figures would seem to favour Mr. Gordon Hills's singular identification of it with Dorchester.

Ptolemy places the south coast of Ireland fully 5° too high in latitude. This fact confirms the view which we have already seen to be probable, that Ptolemy's information respecting Britain came to him in the form of three separate maps, without any indication of their mutual relation. His map is not far wrong with regard to the average length and breadth of the island, but the length is made to run north-east and south-west, instead of north and south, and the outline of the coast is so inaccurate that many of the points admit of no secure identification. The shape of the north coast, however, is fairly recognisable. Robogdium is Fair Head; the river Argita is the Bann, and the Vidua the Foyle; and Vennicium is Malin Head. Of the west side of the island scarcely anything can be said. The Senus corresponds in name, though not in position, with the Shannon, and the north and south capes are respectively the Bloody Foreland and one of the headlands of Kerry. On the south, the river Dabrona (compare the Deveron in Scotland) answers in position to the Blackwater, and the Birgus both in position and in name to the Barrow. The Brigantes, whose territory borders on the Barrow, seem to have taken their name from the river, and to have no connection with the Brigantes of Alvion. The Sacred Cape is clearly Carnsore Point.

On the east side of the island the Buvinda is clearly the Boyne. Ptolemy's orthography shows that the name expressed the singular meaning of "white cow." There is here no doubt some mythological reference, which meets us again in the common Irish name of Inisbofin, the "island of the white cow." The

Logia would seem to be the Lagan or Logan at Belfast; the Vinderius, from its position, may be identified with Strangford Lough, and the cape Isamnium with St. John's Point. Dr. Joyce, however, identifies Isamnium with Rinn Seimhne, which he states to be the old Irish name of Island Magee. The coincidence of name is certainly striking, but as Island Magee is some miles north of Belfast Lough, while Ptolemy's Isamnium is placed a long way south of it, it is difficult to accept the identification. It seems worth while to inquire whether it is quite certain that the Rinn Seimhne of the ancient documents is the same with Island Magee. The river Oboca is probably the Liffey, although the name (under the form Ovoca or Avoca) has been in modern times conferred on a poetically celebrated river in Wicklow county. The Modonus (Irish *meadhon*, middle), if its name had been preserved, would now be Maine or Moyne. No such river-name, however, is to be found in this neighbourhood, and from its situation the Modonus would seem to correspond with the Vartry. The current identification of the town of Eblana with Dublin seems to have no foundation. The names certainly are not identical, and there is no evidence that any town existed in Roman times on the site of the present Irish capital. The island Edrus, marked by Ptolemy as uninhabited, is proved by its name to represent the peninsula of Howth, in Irish Ben *Edar*. The other uninhabited island off this coast, Limnus, may perhaps be Lambay, although in that case the relative situations of Edrus and Limnus have been reversed.

Ptolemy's names of the interior cities and the tribal territories of Ireland do not call for special notice. The only one of his names which seems still to survive is that of the Nagnatæ, which Dr. Joyce finds in the last syllable of Connaught.

XX.—*On the Coptic Churches of Old Cairo.* By JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON,
Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Read May 19, 1881.

THE site of El-Fustât, or Old Cairo, lies about a mile and a half from the modern city, on the plain between the Nile and the Mokattam hills.

With the exception of the Coptic churches and monasteries little of it now remains, and its site is covered by great heaps of rubbish full of fragments of pottery of various dates.

The Coptic churches are grouped together in "dayrs," or inclosures surrounded by high walls, into which there is only one small entrance; these walls were to protect the Copts from the attacks of the Moslem population.

The larger dayrs are labyrinths of narrow streets, composed of monastic buildings and other Coptic houses, and among these the churches stand, generally almost hidden by the surrounding buildings.

In one instance the remains of a large Roman fortress, called "Bahylon,"^a have been used for the inclosing walls: this is the largest of the dayrs, and contains six or seven churches, the principal of which is Abou Sergeh.

CHURCH OF ABOU SERGEH (ST. SERGIUS), OLD CAIRO.

Abou Sergeh is a good representative example of the usual plan of a Coptic church. (See Pl. XXIX.)

The general arrangement is as follows: It has a central nave with elliptical apse at the east end, and north and south aisles two stories high. This second story does not, however, extend over the easternmost bay of the north aisle, or the square chapel at its eastern end, but stops short at the pair of columns by the

^a It was from this fortress that the mediæval name for Cairo—Babylon—was derived. In romances of the Middle Ages the "Sultan of Babylon" usually means the Sultan of Egypt.

pulpit. This eastern bay thus forms a north transept, with roof nearly as high as that of the nave, though on plan it does not project beyond the line of the north aisle wall. The south aisle, on the other hand, is in two stories along its whole length, the upper floor even extending over its eastern apsidal end. West of the nave and aisles there is, in the centre, a large narthex; and, at the end of the north aisle, a chapel with apsidal termination to the north. There was probably once a similar chapel at the west end of the south aisle, but this has been destroyed, and in its place there is now a somewhat complicated system of entrances and porches, which were obviously not part of the original building. The narthex and chapel are, like the aisles, two stories high, and have a flat roof at the same level as the aisle-roofs.

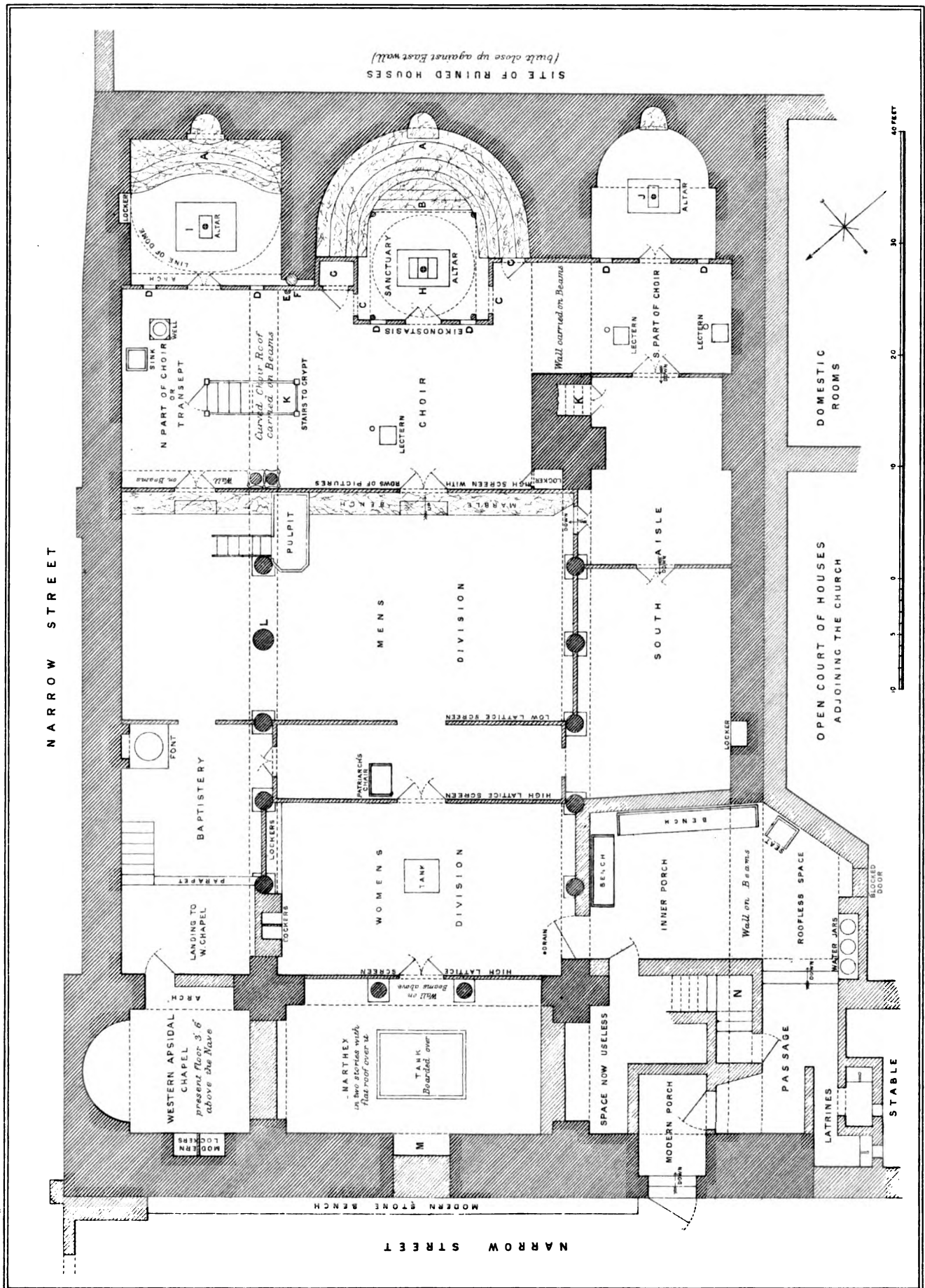
The general plan is one which has been largely adopted for the early basilicas, both of the Eastern and Western Churches. Examples very nearly identical in form and date with this Coptic church are to be found in great numbers among the early Christian churches of Central Syria. (See Count De Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale*.) As, for instance, at El-Barah, Baquoza, Qualb-Louzeh, and Tourmanin; all these churches have an apsidal nave, aisles with eastern chapels, and a western narthex. They date from the sixth and seventh centuries.

The resemblance, however, between the Syrian and Coptic churches extends no further than the plan. All those above named are built of large carefully worked stones, generally have arches with wide spans, and always have numbers of windows, and a considerable amount of external decoration.

At Constantinople the church of St. Irene has a similar plan, and at Cassaba in Lycia, and at Myra (St. Nicholas), we find a plan originally the same, but further developed by the grouping of additional chapels and porches round the west end.

Western examples are not less numerous. To take a few from among the churches of Rome, we may note St. Niccolo-in-Carcere, St. Giovanni by the Porta Latina, St. Pietro-in-Vincoli, Sta. Sabina, and Sta. Agnese-fuori-le-mura, all of which were originally almost exactly the same in arrangement as the church of Abou Sergeh, though in some cases later alterations have modified the old arrangement.

Mr. Edwin Freshfield has shown in an interesting paper on Byzantine churches (printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. XLIV. p. 383, *seq.*) that the arrangement of three apses at the end of Greek churches is not older than the time of Justinian II., and that it was then first introduced to suit the ritual connected with a new



COPTIC CHURCH OF ABU SERGEH, - OLD CAIRO.

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processional hymn. This rule would not apply to Coptic churches, as in them the three apses were provided to find space for the three important altars at the east end; and not, as in the Greek church, simply for one altar with the prothesis and diaconicon at its sides.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to come to any decided opinion as to the date at which the church of Abou Sergeh was built. Setting aside the screens and other fittings, which are all much later than the main structure, there is little in way of carving or ornament of any kind to assist in fixing the century to which the church belongs; nearly all the columns and richly-carved capitals being fragments taken from earlier Roman buildings and thus affording no clue. On the whole, judging from the appearance of the nave arcade, and the semi-classical style of those few carved caps which appear specially made for their position, I think we shall not be far wrong in assigning this church to the eighth century, in spite of the Coptic tradition which declares its founding to have been two centuries earlier.

Outside.—The appearance of this church, seen from outside, like all Coptic churches, is in no way striking. It is a plain rectangular building, about 100 × 60 ft. outside, without buttresses or decoration of any kind; the side walls are pierced by no windows, and the only openings to admit light are two triangular windows fitted with wooden lattice-work, which fill up the spandrels of the roof in the western and eastern gables.

The only entrances were either two or three plain square-headed doorways in the west wall, only one of which is now used, the others being carefully built up.

The church is built of small hard bricks, light brown in colour; shaped, not after the Roman fashion, but much like a modern English brick, only smaller. Pieces of bond timber are built in at irregular intervals of from 2 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. up the whole height of the wall. The wood is that of the palm or tamarisk.

This excessive plainness of the exterior, which is common to all the Coptic churches of Old Cairo, may be accounted for by the fact of their being almost always surrounded on two or three sides by high houses, built close up against them, while the free side or sides are in streets so narrow that it is impossible from any point to get a general view of the whole. For the same reason even the main roof, which is high in pitch, is practically invisible from the ground outside.

The dedication of this church is to Abou Sergeh or St. Sergius, a very favourite

saint in the East, especially in Russia. There is near Moscow a very large monastery dedicated to him, which, like the dayr, in which this church stands, is a small town surrounded by walls, and containing many churches and streets of monastic buildings.

The orientation of Abou Sergeh is not quite true, its axis pointing almost exactly south-east.

It will be well to describe first the main structure of the church, and then to pass on to its fittings and the changes that have been made.

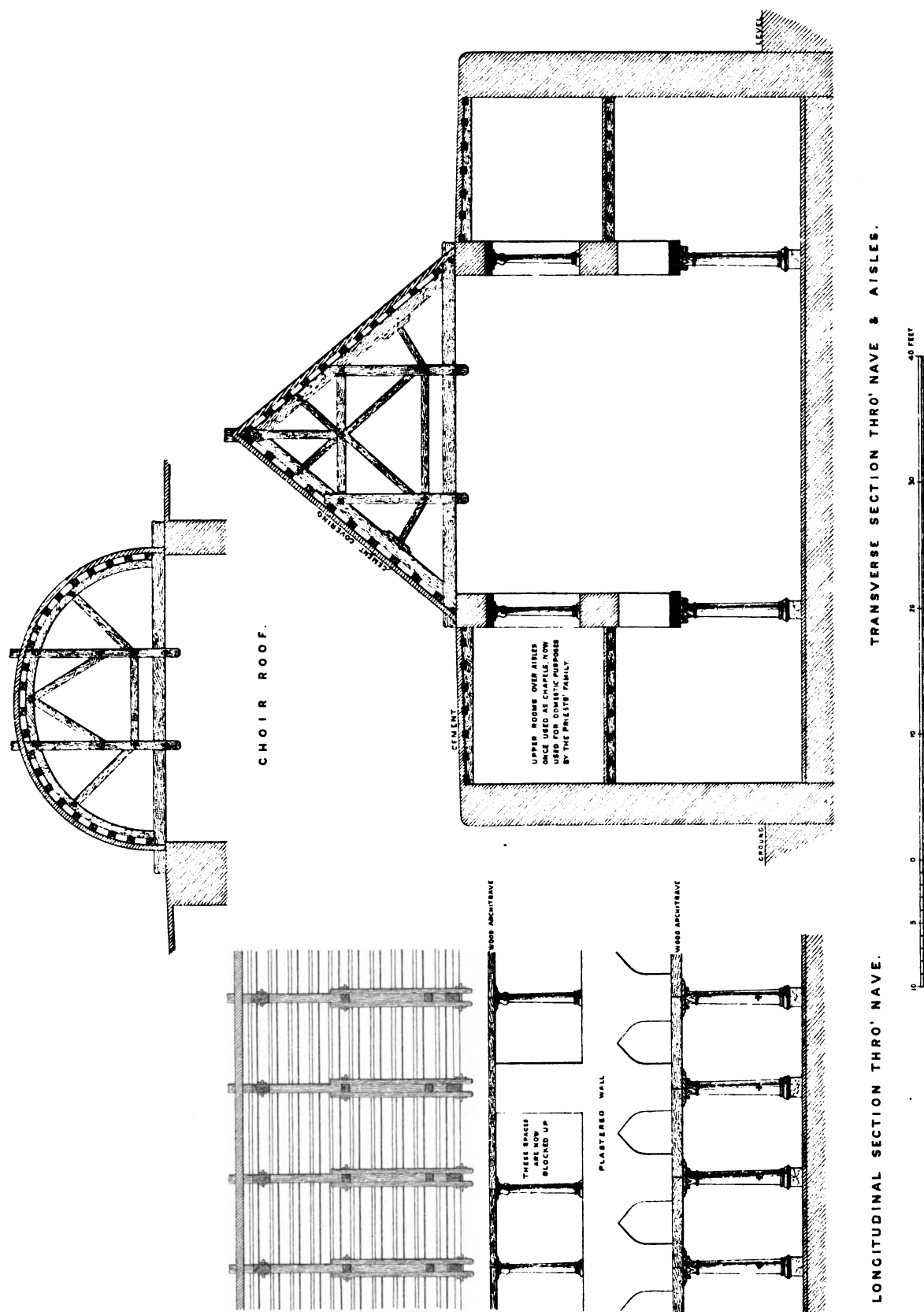
Nave.—The nave arcade consists of monolithic columns about 16 inches in diameter, of marble, nearly white, with grey streaks, apparently the same material as that *cippolino* which is used so largely in Italy, and especially among the slabs which cover the outside of St. Mark's at Venice. These columns have both diminution and entasis, and must once have formed part of some Roman building.

The capitals, of the same material, are in style a sort of debased Corinthian, such as was much used by the Romans in the third and fourth centuries A.D. The bases also are classical, with *astragal*, *scotia*, and *torus*; they stand on square pedestals; both are of the same marble as the columns.

On most of these columns, on the side towards the nave, there is a small deeply-cut cross, which looks like a consecration cross.

Dim traces still remain of a nearly life-sized figure of a saint painted on all these marble shafts. At the point marked L on the plan there is one column different from the rest, which is perhaps a later insertion, owing to the fracture of the original slender marble one. It is larger than the others, being 22 inches in diameter, and is made of red granite from the quarries near Philæ. It has no traces of paint. The pair of small marble columns near the pulpit have, instead of proper bases, two fine Corinthian capitals turned upside down; their capitals are bell-shaped, of the usual early Moslem form.

On the *abaci* of the columns there rests a continuous wooden architrave, formed of two beams, side by side; and in order to distribute the bearing there are short flat pieces of wood between the cap and the architrave, projecting a few inches beyond the abacus. (See sections, Pl. XXX). This wooden architrave, which, in spite of its great age, seems perfectly preserved, is ornamented the whole way along, on the side towards the nave, with a painted inscription in Arabic; and its soffit is decorated with a graceful arabesque design in various colours—now much faded.



COPTIC CHURCH OF ABU SERGEH, - OLD CAIRO.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.

The arches of the nave arcade which rest on the wooden architrave are pointed arches of a common Moslem form, much stilted. They are very narrow in span, so that a considerable mass of solid brick wall comes above each nave column. They are square in section, and devoid of any moulding or other kind of ornament; like the rest of the internal walls of the church, they are plastered and whitewashed. This whitewash probably conceals further polychromatic decoration like that on the architraves.

This curious combination of the *trabeated* and *arched* constructions, which is common to most of the Coptic churches of Old Cairo, suggests the manner in which the transition from one form to the other was effected. The ancient Greeks, who employed a *pyknostyle* or *eustyle* inter-columniation, had little difficulty in finding single architrave stones of ample strength to carry the weight above. The Romans, who preferred a wider or more *araeostyle* intercolumniation, resorted frequently to the device of building concealed relieving arches over the long bearings of their architraves. From this arrangement to that of having the relieving arches *open* the transition would be easy, and the result would then be the form we see here; except that here the architrave is of wood. A slight widening of the span of the arches, thus reducing the impost to a size that would rest conveniently on the abacus of the capital, would do away with the necessity of having any architrave at all, and complete the development to a purely arched form of construction.

At the church of Santa-Maria-in-Trastevere, Rome, there is a parallel instance of continuous architraves, with pierced brick-relieving arches over them. In this case the architraves are of marble, the series of brick-relieving arches occupy the place of the frieze, and above comes the marble cornice. This is now concealed by a recent "restoration."

One may observe throughout the church of Abou Sergeh a marked avoidance of any arched construction, the walls in many places being carried on wooden beams, in spite of the length of the bearings and the considerable thickness of the wall above, a thing which in a European climate would long ago have seriously endangered the stability of the fabric. The plans show these various instances of walls resting on long lintels.

Above the main nave arcade there are large square-headed openings in the wall supported by plain piers, and small marble shafts which carry a straight wooden lintel.

These large openings communicate with the upper story over the aisles and narthex. This upper floor, besides having altars at its eastern ends, may probably, like the similar upper floor at Sta. Agnese and S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, near Rome, and other early basilicas, have served as a *matroneum*, or place where the women of the congregation could assist at the service below, without mixing with, or even being seen by, the male part of the congregation.

At present these openings are built up (at least in Abou Sergeh—in many other Coptic churches they remain open), and the whole upper story of the church is divided into rooms, and used for domestic purposes by the families of the priests. In the thin walls which block up these openings there are projecting lattice windows to admit light and air into the rooms, not to enable the women to join in the service, the modern Coptic custom being to screen off the western part of the nave on the ground floor for the exclusive use of the women.

The upper apsidal chapel at the south-east angle of the church is roofed with a dome.

Nave Roof.—The nave roof has framed principals of rather complicated construction, about seven feet apart. They have king-post, collar-beam, queen-posts, and tie-beam, with various struts. (See section, Pl. XXX.)

The whole is put together without any metal work, the tenons being pinned through by flat wooden bolts, secured at both ends by wedges which pass through them at each end. The queen-posts are double, and lie flat against and on each side of the other timbers. There are no purlins, but the small rafters run longitudinally. The whole of the various roofs throughout the church are covered with a coarse cement, through which the ends of king-posts and tie-beams project.

Pavement.—The present level of the nave floor is three feet below that of the ground outside; the whole pavement consists of large slabs of a hard siliceous limestone from some neighbouring quarries, with the exception of some pieces of white marble let in irregularly round the water-tanks.

Choir.—The long bench, with its steps between nave and choir, is also of white marble; from the line of these steps to the chord of the apse (*i. e.* the main part of the choir) the roof is different to that over the nave; it is a curved wagon-roof, with queen-posts, struts, and tie-beam; it is framed in the same way as that over the nave (see section, Pl. XXX). The junction between these two roofs is managed very awkwardly.

Sanctuary.—The sanctuary, or *Hékel* as the Copts call it, corresponds to the

Greek *βῆμα* or *ιερατεῖον*; it consists of the space in the central apse, to which additional area is given by the way in which the *iconostasis* projects westward into the choir.

Though the present *iconostasis* is certainly not original, yet it probably occupies the exact place of the old one; in fact, without this projection westwards, there would not be room for the altar and its ministers. Round the apse are four tiers of white marble seats (A), to the lowest of which access is given by three marble steps going straight across (B). In the centre, and raised a little above the highest of the curved lines of seats, is the *cathedra* or bishop's throne, formed in a niche with pointed arch, much enriched with very beautiful minute mosaic work of marble, mother-of-pearl, and coloured enamels. Round the whole apse the wall is panelled with marble for several feet above the highest range of seats.

I have called the four marble tiers "seats," but I think that probably the two lower ranges are steps, and that only the two upper and wider tiers are seats. It would hardly have looked dignified for priests to be sitting on the lowest row with their feet dangling in the air.

These seats and the *cathedra* are not now used for any purpose except to put pictures on.

Many basilicas, in Italy especially, have precisely this arrangement of seats and central throne. Perhaps the best preserved instance, and the one which most closely resembles that of Abou Sergeh, is the little basilica of Torcello, near Venice. There the whole plan is very much the same as this Coptic example, and the apsidal seats, throne, and straight steps across are exactly the same as those described above. The only instance I know of where the *cathedra* is regularly used whenever the bishop pontificates is at the cathedral of Gerona, in Spain; the throne there is cut out of one block of marble; thirteen steps lead up to it.

Father Goar, a missionary in the East during the seventeenth century (see Goar's *Rituale Græcorum*), describes this arrangement in the Greek churches thus: "Retro altare in apsidis sinu sedes sacerdotibus Pontifici assistantibus et simul celebrantibus sunt exstructæ. In medio thronum eminentiorem obtinet Pontifex, quem Chrysostomus in Liturgiâ τὴν ἁγὴν καθέδραν recte intelligit."

The sanctuary floor is not raised above that of the choir, and there is no step up to the altar.

South Aisle.—As before mentioned, the whole of this aisle is in two stories: the under-side of the upper floor is quite plain, with roughly hewn main-beams and joists. On this side of the church a massive pier does the work of the pair of

slender marble columns on the north; its use is not very apparent: one of the stairs to the crypt passes through it.

In the centre of the eastern apse of this aisle there is one marble recessed seat, but no ranges of seats as on the north side.

The west end of the south aisle has been cut off by a later wall to form an inner porch, and other alterations at this part of the church have caused the complete destruction of the chapel which once probably existed still further west.

North-East Chapel.—This chapel, unlike the others, has a rectangular east end. There is a central recessed throne, and three ranges of seats (A), or possibly one of seats and two steps carried not straight across, but in a curved line; all are of marble.

This chapel is roofed with a dome, slightly oval on plan; it has pendentives decorated with Moslem *stalactite* work in stucco.

On the north side there is a small window immediately under the dome: the opening between this little chapel and the main church is formed by a high pointed arch.

North Aisle and North-West Chapel.—At the west end of this aisle is the chapel with a northern apse, mentioned above; it is to be observed that neither this apse nor those at the east end are visible outside the church, but are, as it were, formed in the thickness of the wall.

At present the floor of this western chapel is raised about 3 feet 6 inches above the nave pavement, and access to it is given by a large landing and flight of steps in the adjoining aisle.

The priests of the church assert that the space beneath is a tomb, and it is possible that this landing was formed, and the floor of the chapel raised, when some holy personage was buried underneath. At the same time walls were built closing up the south and east sides of the chapel, so that it is now without any natural light, and practically quite useless. There are some signs of its once having had a western external doorway at the ground level, probably corresponding to the present door on the south, but the indications are not very clear; and I have not ventured to show it on the plan; at present two aumbries occupy what may have been the head of this doorway.

The analogy of other early churches with a similar plan would certainly lead one to suppose that there were originally three western entrances.

In the north-western apse are remains, much injured, of figures of saints, nearly life-size, painted in tempera on stucco: these are very early in character, and appear almost, if not quite, contemporary with the building itself.

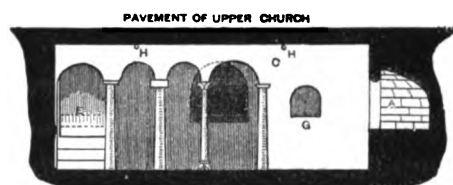
It seems probable that the font originally stood in this apse, and that this chapel formed the baptistery. The present font which stands in the north aisle near the stairs up to this chapel is obviously of no great antiquity. It is, like most Coptic fonts, in shape and size very like a modern scullery copper, and is made of brickwork covered with plaster; behind it, against the wall, is a projection, into which is sunk a shallow recess with pointed arch to hold the chrismatory.

Narthex.—This is marked off from the nave by two marble columns which carry on a wood lintel the wall of the story above.

There was originally a central western entrance here, but it is now blocked up (M).

Crypt.—Perhaps the most interesting and certainly the least altered part of the original church is the crypt, dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

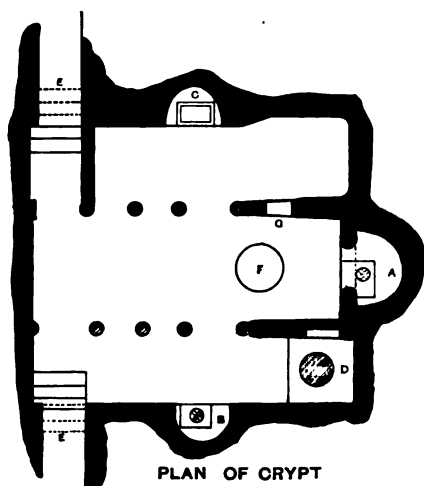
It is a small chapel about 20 feet long by 17 feet wide, divided by arcades



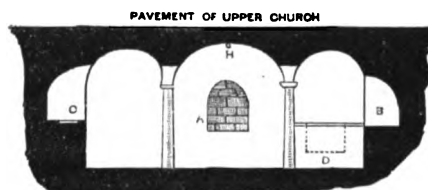
LONGITUDINAL SECTION

The walls and vault are plastered except the Eastern Niche which is lined with Ashlar stone

ABU SERGEH
CRYPT UNDER MAIN CHURCH
DEDICATED TO THE B.V. MARY



PLAN OF CRYPT



TRANSVERSE SECTION

- A Central Altar.
- B Side Altar.
- C Recess with Marble slab slightly sunk.
- D Font.
- E Stairs to Upper Church.
- F Circular Slab of Marble (over Virgin's well?)
- G Squint between North Aisle and Nave.
- H H Iron rings for hanging lamps.



into nave and aisles. Its central axis coincides with that of the upper church, and it occupies a position partly under the choir and partly under the *Hékel*.

Its exact position with reference to the church above is shown on the plans by the two flights of steps leading down to it from the choir. The pavement of the crypt is 8 ft. 9 in. below that of the choir.

This little crypt is vaulted in three spans by a plain, rudely-built waggon-vault with a very depressed curve. (See transverse section.) This vault and all the wall-surface is covered with plaster, so that it is impossible to be sure whether any part of it is excavated in the rock or whether the whole is built up. I believe the latter to be the case; though, at the same time, it appears clear that this chapel was always a subterranean place, and that it has not become a crypt (like the original oratory of S. Clemente in Rome) by the accumulation for centuries of soil around and above it.*

The arcade of the crypt is formed of slender marble columns averaging about 5 feet in height; some of them have evidently belonged to some earlier building, and their variety in height is made up by different sized capitals.

One column has half a fine Corinthian capital used as a base, and has a late classical cap; another has at the top a cubical piece of white marble; the rest have almost shapeless capitals of different thicknesses. On the south side there is one twisted shaft, evidently not classical, and probably of the same date as the crypt itself. At the east end of the nave is the high altar; this is a recess nearly semi-circular in plan, with a half-domed head; it opens into the nave by a round arch; the bottom of this recess is 2 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the floor; it is formed of various pieces of white marble about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick. On one of them there is a deeply-carved floriated cross in a circle 13 in. in diameter. The back and semi-dome of this niche are carefully built in closely-jointed ashlar work of fine yellow limestone. This is the only bit of ashlar stone now visible either in the crypt or upper church. In front of this altar there is a circular slab of white marble 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter let into the pavement, which, like that of the church above, is made of hard flags of limestone.

It is to be observed that the high altar of the upper church is so placed as to

* The present level of the nave of the upper church is now about ten feet below the ground outside the Roman bastions which form the enclosing wall of the dayr.

The pediment and architrave of one of the principal Roman entrances is still visible above the ground outside; the whole of the opening itself being buried in the sand, which, on the great plain where Old Cairo once stood, is always being heaped up by the driving wind, wherever any solid obstacle forms a check to its further movement. If we give a height of ten feet to this buried doorway (the width of which makes this a probable dimension) we shall make the ground level of the old Roman fortress coincide with the present level of the nave of the church: and this I believe to have been the case.

be exactly over this circular slab, and it appears probable that it covers the sacred well, by the side of which the Holy Family are said to have rested on the occasion of the flight into Egypt. The priests of Abou Sergeh are now quite ignorant of the meaning of this slab, which is now cemented down and cannot be raised. Over it, fixed in the vault, there is an iron ring, from which a lamp was once hung, and further west there is another; round both these rings the vault is blackened with smoke.

Between the nave and north aisle there is a sort of squint, but not splayed towards the altar.

In the middle of the south wall of the south aisle there is another recess with marble altar-slab, carved with a foliated cross, very like that at the east end, except that the recess itself is smaller.

At the east end of the south aisle there is a font which, like that in the upper church, resembles a modern copper.

On the north side of it there is a shallow recess in the wall, probably to hold the chrism bottles.

In the middle of the north wall there is a niche corresponding almost exactly to that on the south; but, instead of the slab with consecration cross, it has in it a rectangular slab about 2 ft. \times 1 ft. 10 in., of white marble, like the others, but it is hollowed to the depth of nearly an inch, thus forming a sort of square shallow dish. It has no drain or aperture of any kind, and its precise use is perhaps impossible to discover. It may have been simply a credence or table of prothesis for the bread and wine; or possibly it was intended for a kneading-trough, in which to make the corban or sacramental bread.

The eastern part of the north aisle is widened out, but there is no altar or recess at the end.

Present Fittings of the Church.—As will be seen from a glance at the plan, the church is now divided up into many parts by a complicated arrangement of screens. None of these appear to be older than the sixteenth century, while some are much later; and I do not think that the arrangement they are intended to provide for was in any respect that of the original church.

The nave proper is divided into three parts: the eastern compartment for the men of the congregation, the western for the women, and a narrow intermediate space in which stands a large wooden chair for the patriarch.

This western position on the ground floor of the nave has probably only been assigned to the women since they ceased to occupy the upper story over the aisles and narthex.

This upper story opened so freely into the nave, and must have afforded so complete a view of the services there, that it is impossible to doubt that, in part at least, it was intended for the use of sharers in the worship below.

Another screen divides the south aisle into two nearly equal parts. At present this division appears quite useless.

There are also other screens, which cut off the baptistery and narthex.

Iconostasis.—The most important screen of all is the *iconostasis*, which cuts off the sanctuary and the two eastern chapels from the *Chorus Cantorum*.

This probably occupies the place of a much earlier *iconostasis*; it has fitted into it five panels of a hard, dark wood, carved with reliefs of the Last Supper, the Nativity, and three saints on horseback, called by the priests St. Mark, St. Sepheyn, and St. Girghis,^a which, judging from their style, may be contemporary with the church itself.^b

The present *iconostasis* is a high, close screen, richly decorated with minutely-moulded panel-work, carving, and inlay of ivory and various woods. Above one of the doors is a modern Arabic inscription, inlaid in ivory, with the date A. H. 1195 (A.D. 1816), and above a Coptic inscription, "Greeting to the Church of the Father."

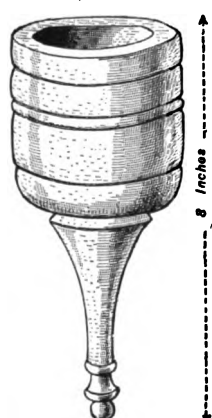
Above, at the top, there is a row of rude pictures painted in tempera on panel covered with gesso; none of these appear older than the sixteenth century.

The central door into the sanctuary (Greek, *ώραία πύλη*) is in two valves, and has hung in front of it a silk curtain, embroidered with a large cross and other ornaments. On each side of this central door there is a small square window, with a sliding shutter, and on the north and south sides of the projecting part of the *iconostasis* there are sliding doors.

Small low doors on both sides communicate with the space under the tiers of marble seats; this is a narrow arched passage, and is now used as a place of concealment for the vessels of the altar.

The parts of the *iconostasis* that screen off the north and south chapels have each a central curtained door, between sliding windows (DDDD), like those (DD) to the *Hékel*.

Between the *Hékel* and the north chapel there is fastened on to the *iconostasis* a small wooden cup, in which the wine-cruet is kept. (E).



WOODEN CUP ON
ICONOSTASIS.

^a St. George of Cappadocia.

^b The British Museum possesses a very fine and interesting series of carved reliefs from a Coptic *iconostasis* very similar in style and date to those in Abou Sergeh.

Choir Screen.—The next screen, passing westward, is a sort of second *iconostasis*. It is a high, close screen, ornamented like that just described, and has a similar row of pictures fixed along the top. It has folding-doors in the centres of the nave and aisles: the space between it and the sanctuary-screen forms the choir, the western limit of which is also defined by a marble bench, 1 ft. 8 in. high, with two steps opposite each door in the second screen, which stands upon it.

Third Screen.—The next compartment, that used by the men, has on the west a low lattice screen, about 4 ft. 6 in. high, made of delicately-moulded framing, filled in with open patterns, composed of small pieces of wood, turned with a string and bow. This sort of lattice-work is the same as that which, up to about the end of the last century, was commonly used for harem and other windows in the houses of Cairo, Damascus, and many other eastern cities; since then, unfortunately, the introduction of European glass has almost entirely superseded this beautiful woodwork. The northern extension of this screen serves to divide the present baptistery from the rest of the north aisle. On the south side the men's compartment is cut off from the aisle by a high, close screen, on which are fixed pictures like those on the *iconostasis*.

In this division stands the pulpit, which is of wood, richly decorated with intricate patterns and inlay.

The next compartment is very narrow, and appears to serve no other purpose than to contain the modern patriarch's throne, which is a large wooden chair, the back and sides of which are ornamented with open lattice-work: another use of this compartment may be to make the division between the men and women of the congregation more complete.

West of this, the next compartment is for the women: the screens which bound it on the east and west sides are high, and are formed of open lattice-work, like the others.

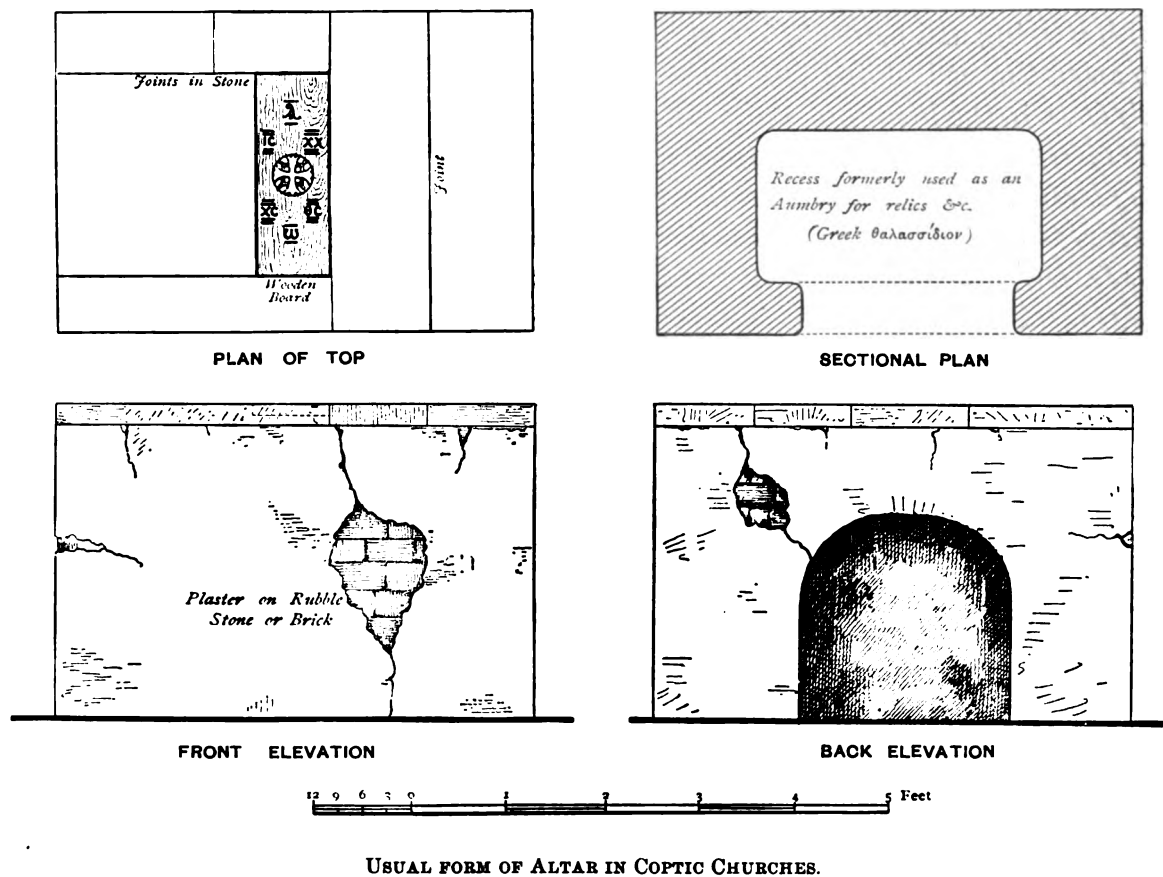
On the north there is a row of lockers, or aumbries, now disused; and on the south is the modern inner porch.

Altars.—As is shown on the Plan, there are three altars (H.I.J.) on the ground-floor of the church; and, judging from the analogy of other Coptic churches, there were others at the east ends of the upper story, over the aisles. These were all real altars for the celebration of mass, and not (like the Greek *prothesis* and *diaconicon*) merely *credences* on which the various vessels and vestments were placed. This old use of many altars has, to a great extent, passed away, and in the present degraded form of Coptic worship only the high altar is regularly

used; the side-chapels being mostly utilised only as lumber-rooms and receptacles for dirt and rubbish.

The general peculiarities of these altars are always the same, though there is considerable variety in their sizes, which vary from 4 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. 6 in. in length, 3 ft. to 4 ft. 4 in. in width, and from 2 ft. 10 in. to 3 ft. 4 in. in height. The high altar is not always the largest. They are built either of brick or rubble masonry, plastered, and are formed hollow with an opening at the back.

This hollow was probably meant originally to hold relics, or sacred vessels, but is now simply a dust-hole.



USUAL FORM OF ALTAR IN COPTIC CHURCHES.

The *mensa* is not composed of one slab of stone, as in the Latin churches, but is made up of several pieces, and does not project beyond the body of the altar. In the middle of this mensa there is formed a rectangular sinking, about 1 inch deep and 2 feet long by 9 inches wide, into which a wooden board, generally

the same size as the sinking, is laid, but not fixed. This board is nearly always about the size shown here.

On the centre of this board is incised a cross within a circle; above the cross the letters A. and IC. XX. and below it XC. ΘC. and Ω.

This would read IHCOTC XPICTOC, XPICTOC ΘEOC; but these letters are usually more or less blundered.

At the celebration of mass the chalice and paten are placed on this slab of wood—a curious reversal of the Latin custom, which required the *super-altar*, if there was one, to be of stone, and the modern Roman custom of having wooden altars with a piece of stone let in to the top.

The object of having this slab of wood may possibly have been to prevent injury to the chalice and paten from being set on the hard stone: at present the whole altar is always vested with a tight-fitting silk cover, which makes the wooden board, in this respect, useless.

The high altar of Abou Sergeh stands under a domed baldacchino (Greek *κιβώριον*), which rests on four slender marble columns: the dome is of wood and plaster, once decorated with painting. In many Coptic churches, side-altars, as well as the high altar, have a baldacchino over them. There is at present no trace of the old custom of having curtains hung round them.*

The Coptic custom of making the altars hollow was also observed in the Greek Church, and to some extent in the early altars of the West.

Ardon, Abbé of Aniane, who died A.D. 821, describes the altar of St. Saviour's at Aniane as being formed with a sort of aumbry in it. He says, "Altare illud forinsecus est solidum, ab intus autem cavum retrorsum habens ostiolum, quo privatis diebus inclusæ tenentur capsæ cum diversis reliquiis Patrum." (See Thiers' *Les Principaux Autels des Eglises*, p. 20, ed. 1688; also Goar's *Rituale Græcorum*).

In the Greek Church this cavity was called τὸ θαλασσίδιον, because originally

* The one altar in a Greek church is called the *ἁγία τράπεζα* or *θυσιαστήριον*: the *prothesis* which stands on the north was so called because on it was laid the oblation of bread and wine before consecration.

The southern table, or *diaconicon*, was so called because by it stood the deacons and other ministers of the altar; on it are placed the censers, service-books, vestments of the celebrant, and other things required for mass.



WOODEN ALTAR-BOARD
(Three times size of smaller drawing)

it was used as a *piscina*, but it appears to have kept the name even when it was used as an aumbry for relics or for the eucharistic vestments. "Vesperâ precedente, sanctum habitum suscepturi vestimenta ad sanctum altare asportantur, et in sanctæ mensæ gremio, seu mari (ἐν τῷ θαλασσιδίῳ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης) reponuntur." (Thiers, p. 33.)

It appears as if a similar practice in the West was alluded to as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century in Archbishop Bainbridge's Pontifical, where the following passage occurs in the rubric of the service for the consecration of altars: "Residuum veræ aquæ crismatæ fundat ad basim (altaris) in fossam ad hoc factam."

Tanks for Ablution.—Besides the Virgin's well in the crypt there is another well in the transept or north part of the choir. Its mouth is formed of an octagonal stone on a square base, about 1 ft. 8 in. across; by the side of it there is a sink hollowed in the pavement.

In the middle of the women's compartment there is a tank full of water, three feet square, boarded over; and in the narthex there is a large deep tank 6 ft. 2 in. by 8 ft. 2 in., also boarded over. Round these tanks there are pieces of marble let into the pavement, probably to prevent the splashings from the water sinking into the more porous stone of the main pavement.

Near the present entrance into the nave there is, in the floor, a hole connected with a drain.

The large tank in the *narthex* is used about midnight on the eve of the Festival of the *Gheetas*, January 18th, when the male part of the Coptic congregation plunge into it to commemorate the baptism of Christ. The others are used for ablutions before the services, and also for a ceremony when the priest washes the feet of some of the congregation. The atrium of the early Latin basilicas seems always to have had a well for the former of these uses; examples exist at S. Clemente, Rome, and S. Ambrogio, Milan.

The Modern Alterations are shown by the lighter tint on the plan. The whole south-west angle of the church has been considerably altered to suit the later habits and notions of the Coptic priests.

The two western bays of the south aisle have been cut off by walls, thus forming an inner porch; besides this a staircase to the floor above (N), now used for domestic purposes, and other walls have been built, so that the present entrance into the church is by a circuitous way, instead of the old direct doorways into the narthex.

This plan of avoiding a direct entrance is one which is always, if possible,

adopted in the houses of the Mahommedans, who are anxious that the inner court should not be visible from the street outside. The result of these alterations is that a great part of the south division of the narthex is now dark and useless. In the inner porch are two wooden benches and a large chair with lattice-work ornaments. A recess contains three receptacles, or settling-jars, for drinking-water.

The part of this porch that extends beyond the south wall of the original church is without a roof, and the upper part of the wall that has been broken through is carried on beams of wood. No trace remains to show the position of the original stairs to the upper floor.

Sta. Agnese-fuori-le-mura, Rome, the plan of which is almost exactly the same as that of Abou Sergeh, has winding-stairs in a square projection at the south-west angle of the nave, and this was probably the position here.

CHURCH FURNITURE.

Lecterns.—Of these there are three in the choir, each with a high, wooden candlestick by it; one is placed near the centre, and two in the southern part of the choir. They are square stands with a slightly sloping book-rest, and are made of wood, generally with fine panel-work, ivory inlay, inscriptions, and lattice ornament. The lower part generally forms a cupboard to hold the service-books.

They are placed facing east, not towards the congregation. Some have embroidered hangings, and stools inlaid with ivory.

Vestments.—Special priestly vestments are, as a rule, only worn at the service of the Mass, and then only while the priests are actually within the sanctuary. When officiating in the choir, or other parts of the church, they wear their ordinary oriental costume, with black turbans; these are not removed even within the *Hékel*, but the priests take off their shoes before they pass the door of the *iconostasis*. The vestments now in use do not exactly resemble any used in the west; there is nothing in shape precisely like a cope or chasuble, though both of these are represented in the earlier Coptic paintings. The present Mass vestment is something like a Dalmatic, and they also use richly-embroidered stoles and sleeve-like maniples, the *ἐπιμανίχια* of the Greek Church.

The dalmatic-like vestment is ornamented with figures of saints and flowing

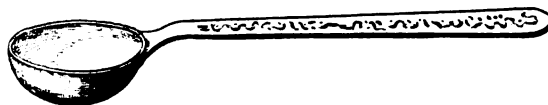
patterns, either in *appliqué* work or else wholly embroidered in silk thread. The material of the ground is fine linen or sometimes silk.

Some churches have small square corporals, worked with a richly-embroidered cross.

The altar-coverings, which are of linen or silk, fit closely all over and round the four sides of the altar: they are embroidered in a similar way with figures of saints and angels, very rudely drawn, but executed with very minute stitches. No existing vestments appear to be of any great antiquity, few being older than the seventeenth century.

The curtains which hang in front of the doors of the *iconostasis* are generally of silk, embroidered with a large cross, figures of saints and angels, and Arabic or Coptic inscriptions. The cross on the central curtain is always kissed, and prostrations are made before it by the Copts when they first enter the church.

Altar Plate.—The chalice and paten are generally modern, and of no great interest. Sometimes European cut-glass is used, or else a quite plain cup and



SACRAMENTAL SPOON, of base silver, 7½ in. long, with dedicatory inscription in Arabic.

plate of silver. At the church of Tedrus, a seventeenth-century goblet of Spanish or Venetian glass was used for the chalice, and an earthenware dish of Seville ware for the paten. At the Communion the bread is put into the wine, and the two kinds administered together to both priests and laity in a spoon. These are quite plain in design, and generally have an engraved inscription commemorating the fact of their being gifts to the church, though the donor's name does not appear. One from Old Cairo has the following inscription, "A gift to the church of the glorious martyr, the Prince Tedrus, between the two hills: for it reward me, O Lord."

Service-Books.—These are nearly always MSS. and are written partly in Arabic and partly in Coptic; the Coptic is regarded as the hieratic language, and no other is used within the sanctuary; other parts of the services, and the rubrics of the mass itself, are written in Arabic.*

These MSS., few of which appear to be older than the sixteenth century, are

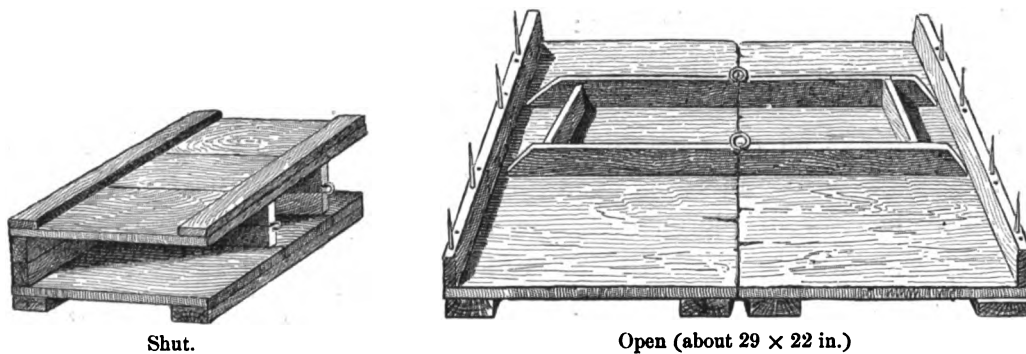
* As a rule, the earlier the MS. the less the Arabic used.

written on fine vellum-like paper, *carta bombycina*, or more rarely on parchment; the usual, and as a rule only, adornment that they have is the title, on which is painted a large foliated cross, with interlacing arabesque ornaments. Some churches possess large quantities of these MSS. which are generally heaped up among the dirt and rubbish in some unused corner of the church—often in the chapels at the end of the aisles.

Tabernacles.—After the consecration of the elements they are placed in a wooden box, gaudily decorated with scenes from the life of Christ and the saints. None of these appear of any great age.

The custom of reserving the Host does not now^a exist among the Copts.

Silver-cased Textus.—It is the custom in nearly all the churches to have a MS. copy of the Gospels, covered on all sides with plates of silver, decorated with *repoussé* work. These plates are all fastened together with small nails, so that



WOODEN STAND FOR SILVER-CASED TEXTUS (ABOU TEDRUS).

the book can never be opened or even seen. At certain festivals this silver-cased book is brought out, and fitted into a rude wooden stand, which is placed in the choir, and has candles on prickets all round it. This silver-work is very coarse, and in no case older than the sixteenth or seventeenth century, while many examples are quite modern. The design has usually the emblems of the Evangelists and figures of cherubim among scroll-ornaments, with Coptic inscriptions. It is made by first hammering from behind a thin plate of silver bedded in elastic cement till it takes the required design; the plate is afterwards finished on the face with punches and gravers.

^a Tradition says, that the custom of reservation was given up because a serpent once got into a Coptic church and devoured the Host.

Crosses.—In some churches fine processional crosses exist of silver *repoussé* work or else bronze, cast and then tooled. Some of these have Greek inscriptions.

There are also in all the churches a considerable number of small crosses made of silver, base white metal, or bronze; these are engraved with dedicatory inscriptions, and are held up by the priest when he blesses the people.

The Pictures, which exist in great numbers in all the churches, are of three kinds: First, the most ancient, are painted *a secco in tempera* on plaster or marble.

The best and earliest examples of these are nearly life-size figures of saints on the wall of the north-west apse of Abou Sergeh, and others on the marble columns of the nave arcade.

2nd. Paintings on panel covered with gesso, often with gold ground, come next in order of date: they are generally large half-length figures of Christ and the saints, or events from their lives: they are often painted with miniature-like delicacy; and in style resemble the works of painters of the early Sienese and Florentine schools, such as Buoninsegna and Cimabue.

3rd. Paintings on canvas, chiefly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: these have little merit as works of art.

Besides the row of pictures on the *iconostasis*, which generally represent Christ and the Apostles, with incidents in the life of Our Lord, the favourite subjects seem to be St. George, St. Menas (two saints of this name), and St. Barbara. Pictures representing these and many other subjects are fixed at almost every part of the churches, and many are propped up against the apsidal seats and central throne.

Owing to the stereotyped style of art which has so long prevailed in the East, it is impossible to fix the dates of these various paintings. Even at the present time artists in Greece and Russia are producing works which have many of the characteristics of the thirteenth-century painters of Umbria or Florence—especially the peculiarity of the strong green tints in the flesh shadows.

Fans (Flabella).—These are thin silver disks *repoussé*, with rude figures of cherubim, and scroll-work ornaments like the coverings to the MS. Gospels. They are circular, about seven inches in diameter, and have a silver socket, into which is fitted a wooden handle (See Pl. XXXI.) They are not now used for their original purpose, but are stuck on iron prickets round the *textus-stand*; and little wax candles are fastened on the edges of the disks on those occasions when the silver-cased book is brought out, and exhibited as described above. In the Greek



A. Coptic Fan or Flabellum.

Church fans of this sort, called *πίπιδια*, were used from very early times, and are still to some extent in use.

In the Liturgy of St. James two deacons, one at each end of the altar, were ordered to stand holding fans at the celebration of Mass, to keep flies from falling into the chalice.

A very interesting article by the late Mr. Albert Way in the *Archæol. Journ.* vol. v. p. 201, gives many examples of their use both in the Eastern and Western Churches. In early times *flabella* were commonly used in the Latin Church, and notices of them often occur in the inventories of cathedral and abbey churches. In England they are usually described as being made of peacock's feathers, but there are some instances of silver ones. A missal and a pontifical in the Rouen Library (see *Archæol. Journ.* vol. v. p. 205) have miniature paintings of the celebration of High Mass, in which the use of fans, closely resembling the Coptic ones, is shown.



ILLUMINATIONS FROM MSS. IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, ROUEN.*

Their use in the Middle Ages was not solely ecclesiastical. A French fourteenth-century MS. in the British Museum (20 B. 1, fol. 1) has a miniature of a king attended by a servant holding a metal fan with a long handle.

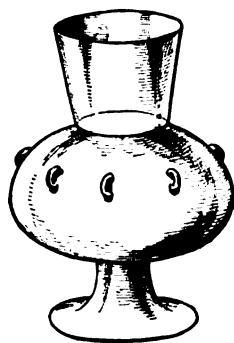
The Maronites still use fans at Mass very like the Coptic ones; they generally have little bells hung all round them.

Censers and Incense Boxes.—The censers now in use resemble in form those used in the West during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are made

* The Society is indebted for these two illustrations to the courtesy of Messrs. Parker and Co. of Oxford. See also Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* 1875, art. "Flabellum."

of base silver or bronze, ornamented with pierced and *repoussé* devices : as a rule they have three chains.*

Some of the boxes in which the stock of incense is kept are very gracefully ornamented. They are generally round, and are made of wood or ivory, richly carved with interlacing patterns and Arabic or Coptic inscriptions. A few are rectangular boxes, like a small tea-caddy, made of beaten silver, decorated in the same fashion as the fans and textus-covers.



GLASS LAMP OF ARAB FORM.
(ABOU SERGEH.)

Glass Lamps.—Till within the last few years some of the Coptic churches possessed exceedingly beautiful glass lamps, made probably at Damascus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for the use of mosques ; they had sentences from the Koran, and very delicate arabesque patterns painted on them in enamel colours, some of which stand out in considerable relief.^b None of these richly-ornamented lamps are still to be found in any of the churches of Old Cairo, though a few of plain clear glass, of graceful shapes but without ornament, still remain ; there is a fine large specimen in the church of Abou Sergeh ; it is only used on Good Friday.

Musical Instruments.—Cymbals, small bells struck with a piece of wood, and triangles, are used to accompany the hymns.

The commencement of the service is announced at some churches by the priest striking a large wooden board at the door. This is instead of a bell. Some few instances exist of bronze bells having been used, but they are rare, probably because the Mohammedan population have a great dislike to them.

Candlesticks and Metal Lamps.—Some of the hanging lamps are enriched with very beautiful work, *repoussé*, pierced and engraved. They are of silver and bronze, and are hung before the pictures, and at other places in the churches.

The tall, standing candlesticks by the lecterns are generally of wood with turned mouldings ; some few are of bronze or iron, with three branches and prickets.

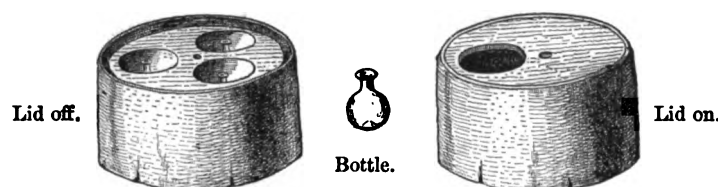
At the church of St. Menas there are two very curious bronze candelabra, set in niches before pictures. They are formed each of two winged dragons with

* For some early Coptic sacred vessels, see *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xxv. p. 242.

^b A fine example from a church in Old Cairo was presented to the British Museum by A. W. Franks, Esq. F.S.A.

tails crossing ; in the mouths and along the backs are rows of sockets for candles, seventeen in all. One of these appears to be sixteenth-century work, the other is a later copy.

Chrismatory.—In the church of Anba Shenouda there is a curious chrismatory, cut out of a solid cylindrical block of wood, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, in which are sunk three holes, which contain three little glass bottles for oils. The lid revolves on a central pivot, and has one hole in it so that only one bottle is exposed at once.

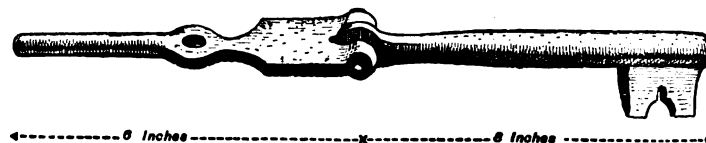


WOODEN CHRISMATORY WITH REVOLVING LID.

At present the Coptic priests only use *one* holy oil, and have quite forgotten that it was ever the custom to have three sorts.

Crutches.—Owing to the great length of some of the services, and the absence of any seats in the churches, both priests and laity have wooden crutches, like a *tau-cross* in shape, to lean upon. The women sit on the floor, and so do not need crutches.

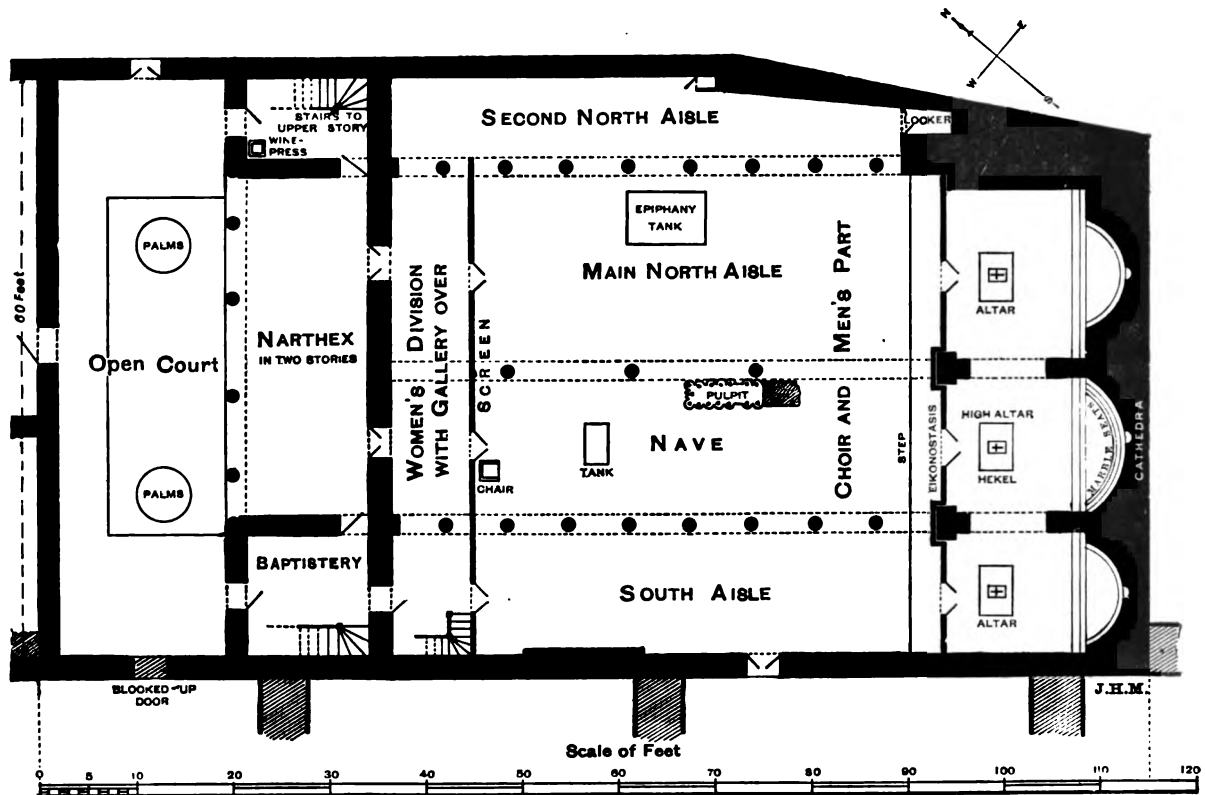
Relics.—Nearly all the churches have relics which are wrapped up in rolls of silk, the size and shape of an ordinary bolster. The outer covering of these is richly embroidered. These are generally placed in niches formed in the screens, often in the *iconostasis*, and as a rule have a picture behind them. In some cases they are put in wooden shrines, standing on four legs, with pictures hung all round them. The bundle containing the relics is seen through a small grating in front, before which an embroidered curtain hangs.*



USUAL FORM OF IRON DOOR-KEY IN COPTIC CHURCHES.

* A large amount of information on Coptic Churches and Ritual will be given in a work by A. J. Butler, Esq. F.S.A. shortly to be published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

One of the smaller churches within the Roman fortress of Babylon—El Moallaka or Sitt Miriam—is here represented in further illustration of the subject.



CHURCH OF EL MOALLAKA.

As compared with Abou Sergeh, it appears to have undergone less alteration from its original state, and to exhibit some interesting differences of arrangement. The shaded part represents the old Roman wall of the fortress. Compare also the three plans in *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, translated by John, Marquess of Bute, K.T. 1882.

XXI.—*Egyptian Obelisks and European Monoliths compared. By the Rev.*
W. C. LUKIS, M.A., F.S.A.

Read March 11, 1880.

IN the following pages it is not my intention to describe Egyptian obelisks, respecting which I can say nothing new and striking. My desire is to give some interesting particulars relating to a few rude monoliths of Western Europe, which may not be so well known, and, by comparing them with the monoliths of Egypt, to show that they are worthy the attention of antiquaries, and that a fair conclusion as to their uses may be arrived at.

Many persons, when they hear or read of obelisks, are under the impression that it is the land of Egypt in particular which has produced notable monoliths of great dimensions. They are not aware that there is a land nearer home in which there exist stupendous monoliths of remote, perhaps of remoter antiquity than the others, and in far greater number, some of which will bear comparison with them, if not in grace and elegance of outline at least in size and weight. It may be that the purposes for which the earliest Egyptian monoliths were erected may throw a little light upon these. It has been supposed by some who have made well-known Egyptian obelisks their study that they had their origin in the rude monoliths of an earlier epoch; that these rude pillars were memorials of respect erected at the graves of departed chiefs; and that the comely, chiselled, and sculptured pillars of a later date were raised in self-glorification by proud monarchs who arrogated to themselves divine honours. This is probably true, because archaeological research seems to support the opinion that some, at least, of the rude monoliths of Western Europe are unmistakeably sepulchral monuments.

The obelisks of Egypt, such as are known, bear inscriptions which tell their uses; the monoliths of Europe are uninscribed, and their frequent association with grave-mounds tends to indicate their purpose.

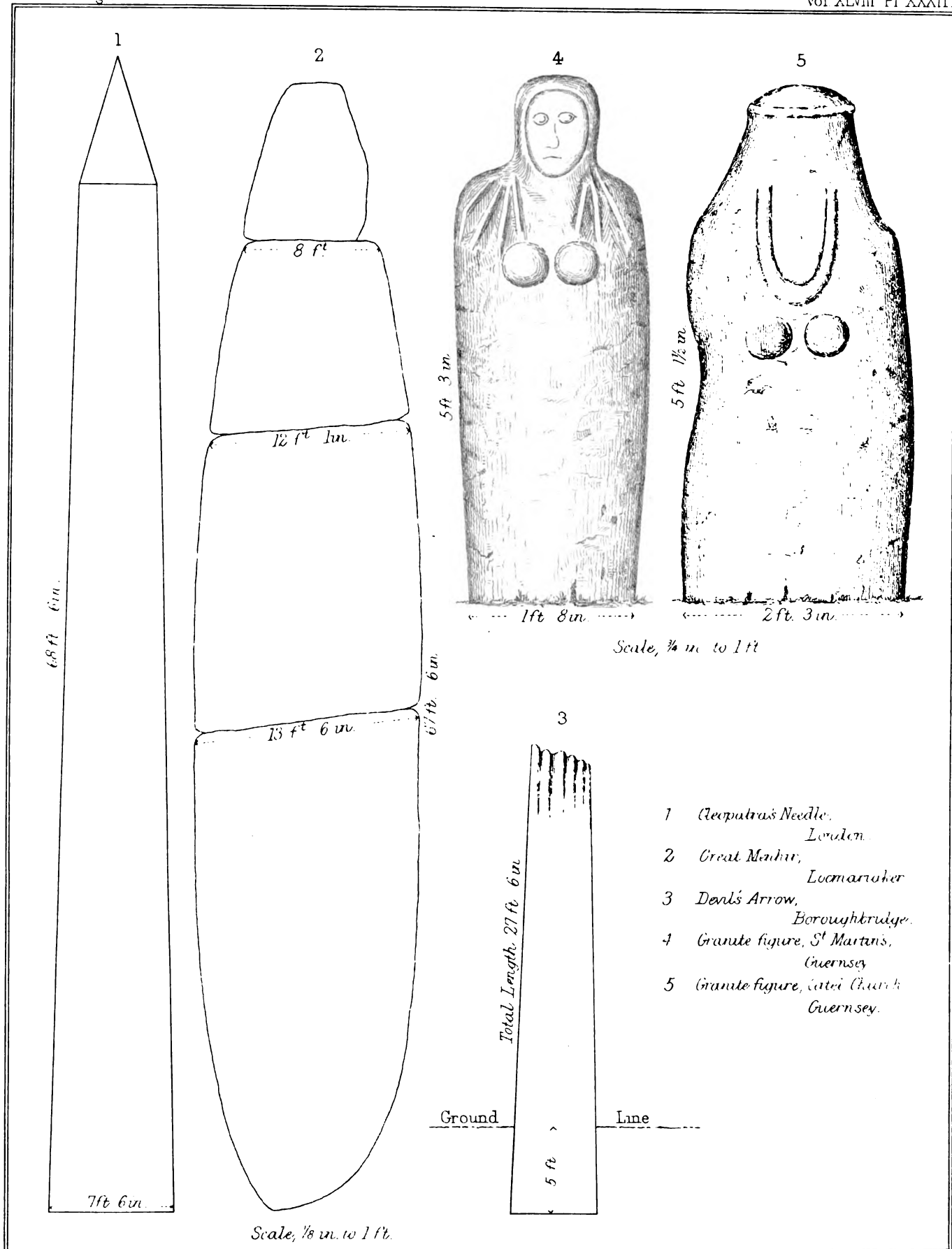
Egyptian obelisks were artificially extracted from their native granite rock;

European monoliths were, in most instances, gathered off the surface of the land, where they had lain for ages exposed to the disintegrating action of the elements. Very few bear tool-marks, or any evidence of artificial disengagements from a parent rock.

Egyptian obelisks were brought on floats down the Nile, transported across the land, and reared by means of inclined planes, rollers, and levers, on sites hundreds of miles distant from their quarry beds; European monoliths were found ready to hand, and moved comparatively short distances only. But if astonishing toil and surprising skill have been displayed by the highly civilised Egyptians in the execution of their work, greater toil must have been encountered and incredible difficulties surmounted by the pre-historic men of the West with their humble appliances.

In the annexed Plate is a diagram representing Dr. Erasmus Wilson's magnificent gift^a to the nation, from which I have omitted the hieroglyphic sculptures (fig. 1). I have selected it to illustrate my subject because we are all acquainted with it, and because its length closely approximates to that of a Breton granite monolith, of which an outline drawing, as restored, is here given (fig. 2). Both are drawn to one scale. The Egyptian stone is 68 ft. 6 in. long, 7 ft. 6 in. wide at the foot, and weighs about 186 tons. This prodigious French monolith is 67 ft. 6 in. long, 13 ft. 6 in. in its widest part, 7 ft. 6 in. thick, and weighs 260 tons. The former is unquestionably very shapely, and of pleasing proportions; but no one can fail to stand amazed and awed in the presence of this king of European monoliths, at this time lying prostrate and broken into four pieces in a field at Locmariaker. Perhaps in viewing the Egyptian obelisk our interest is excited because of the remarkable circumstance of its history, two of the greatest Pharaohs having set their seals upon it. What can I say to awaken an interest in this huge dishonoured stone? Well, the very mystery which surrounds it is not without interest. By whom, to whom, and the period when it was erected,—all this, which no written or traditional history records, kindles our interest and encourages investigation. All around the spot where it lies there are rude stone structures of gigantic dimensions, the now despoiled sepulchres of an ancient people. There can be little doubt that when these people were erecting it, and constructing these tombs, they were living a quiet and peaceable life in an organized condition of society. There is no evidence that they were made anxious, as civilized nations too frequently are, by wars and rumours of wars.

^a I describe it as his "gift" because the nation's claim to it was long ago abandoned.



C.F. Kell, Lith.

W.C. Lukis, Del.

EGYPTIAN OBELISKS AND EUROPEAN MONOLITHS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1885.

There are no vestiges in that country of defensive works of the period.^a The only implements they have left behind them are the stone celts and a few stone axe-hammers, but these may have been employed chiefly in the chase, or for felling trees, or for agricultural purposes. Very few flint arrow-points have been found, and their slender flint knives were better adapted for food purposes than for slaying enemies and captives. What Canon Greenwell^b has said of the Yorkshire wold-dwellers of the Round Barrow period seems to me especially applicable to these *older* occupants of the soil of Armorica, viz., that "they had passed the stage when the family was the only community, and they were ruled by an order and constraint which embraced wider bounds." The magnitude of the burial-mounds with their stupendous stone chambers would imply this, as "from the amount of continued labour bestowed upon them they could never have been erected except by a community which included many families, and necessitated an union of very considerable bodies of men." They had no knowledge of bronze and iron, neither of these metals having ever been found in their previously undisturbed tombs; and they were consequently men of a stone age, whenever that was. They could not have been savages with low mental capacities, for their works testify to engineering skill of no ordinary kind. Is it not therefore an interesting task to investigate the history of an unwarlike, united, people, the subjects of apparently one controlling government, who were able, with humble appliances, to erect such a huge granite block as this, and to construct sepulchres, which are megalithic in the strictest sense, far surpassing those which exist in the British Isles, who, however rude and primitive in their habits, evinced their affection and respect for their dead by honouring them with such gigantic memorials?

Above, when contrasting the eastern and western monoliths, I have said that the Egyptian obelisks were inscribed with their own histories, whereas those of Europe were not so inscribed. Some, however, are not wholly destitute of marks executed by the hand of man. Upon a few may be seen cup-markings, placed sometimes in groups, yet without any apparent order, the key to which has not yet been discovered. Upon the walls of some of the tombs there are also occasionally found sculptures, which seem to be indicative of distinctive personal qualities once possessed by the deceased. A not unusual object incised is a celt or axe, sometimes with, and sometimes without, a handle. On the

^a It is possible, however, that their defences may have been stockades.

^b *British Barrows*, Introduction, p. 111.

under surface of the huge covering slab of the tomb, which is within a few feet of the great monolith, is a representation of an axe mounted in its handle. Perhaps it is a picture of the royal sceptre which was borne by the distinguished head of the community who owed him their allegiance, and who was here interred, or of the weapon with which he gained renown in the chase. If then we feel an interest in an obelisk because of its known history, I trust I have said no more than may fairly be inferred from their monuments respecting the ancient people of the West, and that we shall admit that this stone is an eloquent witness to their undaunted energy, perseverance, resolution, and skill, although they were in a very much lower scale of civilization than the Egyptians.

We may well marvel how such a prodigious mass of granite was pushed along, even for a short distance, over a rough slightly undulating country, but rollers and levers, strong hands and willing co-operation, will master incredible difficulties. Not even the stormy Biscay, which did its best to engulf Dr. Wilson's "Needle," presented insuperable obstacles to the energetic Armoricans. They contrived to transport a fine monolith 26 ft. long, weighing about 25 tons, from the main coast to Belle Ile, a distance, at the present time, of ten miles from the nearest point of the main land. It is difficult to conceive how, when they arrived with their raft bearing its dead weight of granite, and perhaps a living freight of many human beings, they managed to get the stone up the cliffs of the island, which are lofty, precipitous, and rugged. The navigation of those days must have been of a very primitive character, hardly more than a creeping coasting one, and yet the stone was conveyed across the sea, landed, and taken up-hill to the table-land, where it was erected, and where it continued to stand, as a monument of their perseverance, until about forty years ago, when it was broken up for building purposes. That it must have been conveyed over the Atlantic waves, unless we assume that at that period Belle Ile formed part of the Continent, appears from the fact that the granite of which it was composed is not found in the Island, but on the main land. This is not a solitary instance of such a performance. Not far from Belle Ile, in an easterly direction, are the Islands of Hoedic and Houat; and I have seen it stated that in the latter island,—where, by the way, the rector holds the anomalous position of being not only parish priest but of discharging a multitude of secular functions, for he is mayor, chief judge, tax-gatherer, notary public, doctor, banker, harbour-master, superintendent of public works, and inn-keeper, in the happy island where the reverend gentleman is the central and sole authority, and I believe discharges his multifarious duties with benefit to the community,—there once

stood a large monolith composed of a material which is not found there, and which has shared the fate of the Belle Ile pillar.

I have said something respecting the greatest monolith in Brittany, the greatest, I believe, in Europe which is not of Egyptian origin; the next in point of size is in the Department of Finistère. It is still standing at Plouarzel, near St. Renan, in a direction north-west from Brest, and is a magnificent stone about 44 ft. out of ground, 8 ft. wide and 4 ft. thick, and weighs, according to these dimensions, from 90 to 100 tons. How deep it is buried in the ground I cannot say. As in the case of the great monolith of Locmariaker, its angles and natural roughnesses have been worked down and rounded partly by percussion and abrasion previous to its erection, and partly by disintegration from long exposure. It is situated on a commanding elevation, from whence the view is very extensive, and may be seen from Brest, a distance of four leagues. In consequence of the enormous dimensions and weight of the Locmariaker monolith, and the absence of any proof of it having been erect, some persons have doubted if it was ever in an upright position; but here we have a ponderous stone of considerable length which has been reared and still retains its position unchanged in any degree. The men who set up this stone were not the men to shrink from a still more formidable task.

There is no other monument in the immediate vicinity of this monolith at this time which would lead us to infer that it was a sepulchral pillar; but if there be any value in a name, the land on which it stands is called Ker-gloas, which signifies "place of mourning," and implies that the monument marks the sepulchre of some distinguished personage.

Another very fine monolith is on the sea-coast at Brignogan, near Plounéour, Finistère, and is nearly 36 ft. high from the ground level, 12 ft. 6 in. in its widest part, and 4 ft. 6 in. thick, and weighs more than 100 tons. In recent times a stone cross has been planted upon its summit, the symbol of Christianity consecrating the pagan monument. I will return to this monolith presently.

In a plantation at La Tremblaye, a few miles from Dinan in North Brittany, there is a fine monolith which is about 26 ft. out of ground. It is now in a leaning position, and from the extent of its inclination must be buried several feet in the earth. This is the stone which the late Prosper Mérimée (Inspector General of Historic Monuments in France) suggested should be transported to Dinan, and erected in the town square as a monument infinitely more national than an Egyptian obelisk. Happily for the memory of this old antiquary, and the good sense, which I fear was generated solely by economical convictions, of the

authorities of the town, the contractor's tender was not accepted, and the monolith continues to attract visitors and interest archæologists. No doubt the Inspector-General of Historic Monuments was quite right in saying that such a stone would be more national in that province of great monoliths than an obelisk brought from Egypt; but how should we feel towards the man who in these days should suggest the removal of the great monolith, 25 ft. high, which stands in Rudston churchyard near Bridlington, or one of the Boroughbridge "Arrows," to the metropolis of the north, for the purpose of adorning the museum grounds or any other open space in the city? Yet we may be accused of having committed, in some degree, the act which is here reprehended. Something, however, may be urged in our justification. The obelisk, which has been brought to London was not occupying its original place. Its association with a temple in Heliopolis was discovered 1900 years ago. It bears on its face its own history. We know all about it, and have little more to learn respecting it. Not so the monolith of La Tremblaye. The mysterious interest which now surrounds it would be wholly destroyed by its removal, and few persons would care to look at it, or desire to learn its history. A most remarkable collection of cists, arranged in a circle and formerly enclosed in a barrow, was some years ago presented to General Conway, and translated from Jersey to his park at Caversham, near Reading. It was unique of its kind, and would have been an attraction to antiquaries if it had been suffered to remain, whereas its interest is entirely destroyed, and no one inquires for it or cares to do so.

Monoliths, which may be reckoned by thousands, exist in Brittany, varying in dimensions from the majestic ones I have drawn attention to down to others of 2 ft. or 3 ft. in elevation. Many also exist in the British isles, but with the exception of those at Rudston, "the Devil's Arrows" at Boroughbridge in Yorkshire (fig. 3), and a few in Cornwall, they are of insignificant proportions.

I have said that the Brittany monoliths were found upon the surface and not quarried. If we examine the huge stone which stands at Brignogan we shall observe that it had been for ages exposed to disintegrating forces before it was set up as a monument. Great broad hollows were scooped out of it by those natural forces as it lay upon the ground, and where there was a still softer spot in the stone a basin was formed from which a channel issues which indicates the then inclination of its face. At the time when it was commonly supposed and believed that cromlechs or dolmens were Druid's altars, erected for human sacrifices, such basins which are occasionally observed on the upper surfaces of their roofing slabs, as well as on rocks which crop up through the soil, were con-

sidered to have been artificially made for the purpose of catching the flowing blood of the victims. But as these basins are also found on the under surfaces of covering stones of tombs, where they could have served no such purpose, it is quite clear that they were already formed when the monuments were erected. I could cite many examples of these natural formations both in Brittany and Devon, but will bring into notice one more. There is a great monolith near Plœmeur in North Brittany which is 26 ft. high, 10 ft. wide, and 6 ft. thick, and is estimated to weigh about 90 tons. Before it was erected it was a surface boulder lying upon one of its broad faces, and in course of time the elements found out a weak place and excavated a basin upon it. Since its erection the same forces have not let it alone, and have committed like ravages upon it as they have exercised upon the Boroughbridge monoliths, and scored it with a number of perpendicular furrows.

The drawing here given of one of the "Devil's Arrows," to the same scale as the others, will give an idea of its relative size, tapering form, and the effects of the weather. It more strongly resembles an Egyptian obelisk than any of those of which I have spoken, and has been wrought into this form by artificial means. Tool-marks are distinctly perceptible upon those portions of its sides which have been protected below ground. These marks appear to have been made with a pointed implement, and not with a chisel.

I have remarked above that much of the interest connected with the graceful obelisks of Egypt centres in their sculptured inscriptions, which tell their ancient history in "the forgotten language of a mighty race now gone for ever." If they are interesting and instructive on this ground, is nothing to be learnt from the rude uninscribed monoliths of Europe? Are they wholly silent? Is nothing suggested by their massiveness, simple grandeur, and frequent association with huge burial-mounds? Rough and inelegant, they are significant of the work and genius of a rude age, of a people ignorant of scientific machinery, but capable of effecting mighty achievements. Even the productions of the great Eastern Empire become insignificant in the comparison. And if no royal cartouch informs us by whom they were erected, and in what age of man's history, is there nothing which seems to point to their destination?

We may be helped to the answer by comparing them with the obelisk of Egypt, for if we can learn anything as to the primary use of the latter in the remotest period of that land's history, it may be that we shall be able to satisfy our natural desire to know why the early inhabitants of Western Europe should have set up their rude stone pillars.

Dr. S. Birch is, I believe, acknowledged to be one of the trustworthy authorities on whom we may depend for information in his special department of the British Museum. From a lecture which he delivered in Nov. 1877 before the British Archæological Association upon Cleopatra's Needle, I have gathered these important facts.

I. As far as investigation has penetrated into the remotest history of obelisks, it would appear that they primarily served a sepulchral purpose, being found erected before the entrances of tombs (as at Memphis) or upon the truncated pyramids which are sepulchres. Hence it may be inferred that they had a sepulchral origin, and represented some primitive and ruder form handed down from remote times.

II. In the eleventh or twelfth dynasty they were placed before the temples of kings, and were no longer sepulchral.

III. At a still later date they had a triumphal character in honour of kings, and might be compared to the triumphal columns of the Romans.

The obelisks with which we are familiar, and among them those which are called Cleopatra's Needles, belong to the second and third of these classes, and were erected to adorn temples or record military achievements. It is to the first class that we must look for a ray of light to illumine the gloom which hangs over a primeval period in Europe. Dr. Birch tells us that at the earliest known period of Egyptian history, obelisks served a sepulchral purpose, being associated with burial-mounds, and that they were perfected forms of monuments which in a still more remote and rude state of civilisation were erected with a like intention. It is just this purpose that most of the rude monoliths of Europe appear to have served. They are found sometimes close to sepulchral mounds; sometimes they are erected on the truncated summits of barrows or cairns; and sometimes they are isolated. In these respects they closely agree with the class of which Dr. Birch speaks, and which were the remote ancestors of Cleopatra's Needles. Had rude stone temples existed in Europe, buildings erected for religious worship, which might clearly be distinguished from sepulchres, and had there been great monoliths in close proximity to them, we might have been led a step further to conclude that while some of these huge pillars were sepulchral, others belonged to Dr. Birch's second class, and were erected in honour of the sun or other divinity. But no such building exists, and there is no evidence to show that Stonehenge or Avebury, or any other great stone circle in the British isles, or any existing rude stone structure in Brittany, was a temple in this sense.

Some old authors have formed two classes of menhirs, and placed those which

are isolated in the one class and those which are near to dolmens in the other. They considered the former to have been sepulchral memorials, and the latter symbols of deities and objects of worship. Why? because they believed dolmens were altars of sacrifice erected in front of these supposed divine symbols. The only point of agreement between the view of these authors and that which I have here put forth is in the association of the monolith with the dolmen, from which we have deduced exactly opposite conclusions, and on which side the truth lies I must leave others to decide.

I will make one other remark in closing this Paper. An argument in favour of the view which I oppose is drawn from decrees of early Christian Councils. It has been thought that those Councils decreed the demolition of these monoliths on the ground that they were objects of worship. If so, it is strange that so many very imposing ones should have escaped, and I have mentioned three or four only out of a considerable number; and that the great menhir of Locmariaker which, if a divine symbol at all, must, owing to its gigantic dimensions, have attracted the greatest veneration, should still remain, even in a shattered condition. It is true that it is broken into four parts, but every fragment is there. It is indeed very probable that its destruction was due to a violent tempest, for it stood in a most exposed situation, and that in its fall the largest fragment, which weighs about 150 tons, rolled over, or it may have been thrown down by an earthquake. There is no trace on the pieces of artificial cleavage; the fractures are clean, as though caused by the stone falling on uneven ground.

The probability is that the stones against which the decrees were levelled were of a totally different character, and that they were of small dimensions, whatever their shape was. Moreover, they were set up in groves and under trees, and when destroyed were to be so effectually demolished, and their remains hidden, that the pagan or semi-pagan people should not be able to find them again. This is what we may fairly gather from the Decrees of Arles, A.D. 452, of Tours in 567, and of Nantes in 658. It seems to me that the idolatrous worship which prevailed when Christianity was developing in the country, and when heathen rites continued to retain a hold upon the half-converted people, had nothing whatever to do with the monoliths and other monuments to which I have referred in this Paper. These rites were of more recent introduction. Trees, fountains, and stones, some possibly in the form of sculptured images, at all events stones which were regarded as divine symbols, these were the objects of superstitious veneration, and were condemned. The repetition of these decrees, promulgated from time to time during a period of 200 or 300 years, would, if

obeyed, have swept them all clean away had the monoliths of which I have spoken been the offending stones. I am therefore tempted to consider that the Venus of Quinipilly, and the two rude granite female figures in Guernsey, described by my friend and fellow-countryman, Edgar MacCulloch, Esq., F.S.A., to the Society in January 1879 (Proc. 2nd Ser. viii. 29, and represented here, Nos. 4 and 5), are examples of these proscribed stones. No. 4 is used as a gatepost of St. Martin's churchyard; No. 5 was found buried under the chancel-floor of Ste. Marie-du-Castel, commonly called the Câtel church, and is now erected near its west end in the churchyard.

The view I have put forth in the foregoing receives some confirmation from the existence of ancient monoliths in Christian churchyards. There is the great monolith at Rudston, and there are several instances of rude monoliths in French churchyards. These facts, taken in conjunction with what I have said, support the opinion that monoliths, such as I have alluded to, could not have been symbols of pagan deities, or they would have been demolished, but were harmless sepulchral memorials, and therefore suffered to remain. An idea has commonly prevailed that cemeteries began to be attached to churches about the time of Charlemagne; but, inasmuch as cemeteries existed before churches, it seems more correct to say that churches were attached to cemeteries; and perhaps this was the case much more frequently than we are aware of. It may be that pagan cemeteries were continued to be used for Christian burials, and that in those cases, where the sites were locally convenient as regarded the population, churches were subsequently erected upon them. This would account for the presence not only of monoliths within the precincts of churchyards, but for the presence also of other heathen structures, such as dolmens, over which not a few churches have been built. In proof of the absence of any Christian prejudice against thus using heathen burial-grounds I may further state that there is an ancient barrow of considerable magnitude in the churchyard of Ogbourne St. George in Wiltshire.

I ought to apologise for having presumed to ask an entire evening for myself, and also for having trespassed upon your patience. I have told you nothing about the Egyptian obelisks which you did not know before, but I hope I have not failed to interest you in these European monoliths, which ought to be more deserving of our regard, because they are connected with the history of a people, probably long passed away, who lived in our own quarter of the globe.

XXII.—*On the Early Charters of the Borough of Newport in Wentloog. Communicated by OCTAVIUS MORGAN, F.R.S., F.S.A. With Remarks by HENRY SALUSBURY MILMAN, M.A., Director.*

Read May 15, 1884.

WENTLOOG.

The Lordship of Wentllwch, sometimes called the Lordship of Newport, is of considerable extent. It lies on the shore of the Bristol Channel, by which it is bounded on the south. On the west it is bounded by the river Rumney, which separates it from Glamorganshire, and on the east by the river Usk. On the north it contained the manors of Machen and Abercarne, and adjoined the lordships of Usk and Abergavenny, and contained seventeen parishes:—

St. Woolos and Newport.	Malpas.
Bettws.	St. Mellon.
St. Bride.	Peterston.
Coed Kernew.	Rumney.
Marshfield.	Machen.
Michaelstone-y-Vedw.	Bedwas.
Risca.	Bedwellty.
Bassaleg.	Mynyddyslwyn.
Henllys.	

The name is composed of the words Gwent and Llwch, the former being the name of the region, and “Llwch” a shallow lake or lagoon, corresponding with the Irish and Scotch “Loch,” which describes that part on the shore of the Channel in its primitive condition, before the formation of the embankment or sea-wall by the Romans. This shows the antiquity of the name.

The Most Ancient Charter of the Borough of Newport.

The earliest Charter of Newport was that granted to its Burgesses by Hugh, Earl of Stafford, dated Thursday, 13th April (8 Ric. II.), 1385, by virtue of his right and power as Lord of the Lordship Marcher of Wentllwch, within which the town was situated.

This Charter is not known to be still extant. But a second Charter, dated 3rd April (5 Hen. VI.), 1427, granted by his grandson Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, Lord of Tonebrugge and of Wentllwch, now exists and is here presented, and is a Charter of Inspeximus and Confirmation of the original Charter of 1385, which is copied therein at full length, and is upon inspection confirmed to the Burgesses, as having been their Charter in times past.

It was a very common practice for great lords and sovereigns to recal charters which had been granted for the purpose of inspecting them, perhaps altering their provisions and regranting them—and, of course, fees were always paid to the lord on those occasions. The Charter which we have here is one of “Inspeximus and Confirmation;” and I think it not an improbable circumstance that, when the original Charter was recalled for the purpose of inspection, it was not returned with the new one; and if so we have here the earliest copy of the original.

The lordship of Wentllwch originally formed part of the dominions of Jestyn ap Gwrgan, and was taken possession of by Robert Fitz Hamon on his conquest of Glamorgan. The Glamorgan district, on the west side of the Rumney, he divided into several lordships or manors to be held under particular tenures. The country on the east side of the Rumney he seems to have reserved for himself, forming it into a chief or paramount manor, dividing it into several mesne manors which were held by various tenants under him. Through his only daughter and heiress, Mabel (married to Robert, natural son of King Henry I., who was Earl of Gloucester, and frequently called Robert Consul), it came by descent into the powerful family of Clare, which terminated in 1314 on the death of Gilbert de Clare without issue male, leaving three sisters co-heiresses, when the large estates were divided into three portions. To the second daughter, Margaret, Wentllwch was assigned; she married Hugh de Audeley, Earl of Gloucester, who became possessed of it in her right. The issue of the marriage was an only daughter and

heiress, Margaret, who married Ralph, Earl of Stafford, and thus the Stafford family came into possession of the lordship. He died in 1372; Hugh, Earl of Stafford, his son, succeeded to the lordship, and appears to have granted the first Charter in (8 Ric. II.) 1385 as above stated.

The lordship of Wentllwch was, in fact, a small independent sovereignty, which had been part of the territory of Jestyn ap Gwrgan, and hence not subject to the realm of England; and when Hugh Stafford came into possession he seems to have formed it into a small state, organised with the same forms, offices, and officers, as the great realm of England, which these petty sovereigns appear to have copied in most particulars. He had his Castle of residence, with his Chancery and Exchequer, and all other offices necessary for the collection of his revenue and execution of his laws. He granted to his Borough of Newport a charter of liberties, as was the royal practice in respect of the towns and cities within the neighbouring realm of England.

The original Charter was issued from the Chancery of the lord at Newport, and had two seals, one the seal of the Chancery, and the other the seal of the grantor's arms. The Charter here presented was issued and bore two seals in like manner. The seal of arms has unfortunately been destroyed, and only the silken cords which attached it to the document remain. Of the Chancery seal a portion remains, also showing on one side a shield of the well-known Stafford arms, (Or a chevron Gules), and a legend which contains the latter part of the word "*cancellarie*"; on the other side a figure of a knight on horseback. In the middle of the fourteenth century the name of the lordship appears to have been changed from the ancient Welsh name of Wentllwch to that of the town, and to have been called the lordship of Newport in Wales. This was probably done when the Stafford family came into possession. It was an independent state, for the writs of the King of England did not run in any of these lordships marchers, and they became therefore a refuge for the criminals and malefactors of the neighbouring kingdom, who could come and dwell in safety,—a state of things which made King Henry VIII. very anxious to get possession of the lordships. In the Charter the lordship is called a *comitatus* or county, and the term *regalis* is used for the authority of the acts done.

The lordship continued in the Stafford family for some generations, till it came to Humphrey Stafford, the sixth Earl, grandson of Hugh, who granted the first Charter. He was a minor when he succeeded in 1403. In 1402 Newport had been sacked and burnt by Owen Glyndwr, and the whole of Wentllwch ravaged, so that, on a jury being summoned to ascertain the value, they gave as their verdict "Nil." Earl Humphrey came of age in 1424, and in 1427 appears to have called

for the original Charter to inspect it, and on due examination to have approved, confirmed, and regranted it by the Charter which we have here.

This Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, was created Duke of Buckingham in 1444. His son Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham, was attainted and beheaded in 1483, and all his vast estates were forfeited to the Crown. The lordship of Newport thus became a possession of the King of England, and the revenues were all collected in the King's name as Lord of Newport. In 1486 all the honours and estates of Henry, second Duke of Buckingham, were restored to his son Edward; but this third Duke was beheaded in 1521, and attainted, and a like forfeiture followed; and subsequently the accounts and muniments of his estates were carried up to London, and placed among the Public Records under the title of "Buckingham's Lands."

The lordship of Wentllwch remained in the hands of the Crown till it was granted by Edward VI. to the Earl of Pembroke. But in the reign of Elizabeth he was called upon by a writ of *quo warranto* to show by what authority he exercised certain powers, and, on his proving himself duly authorised, he and his family remained in undisturbed possession till the estate was sold by order of the Court of Chancery about 200 years ago, and was purchased by William Morgan, Esq. of Tredegar.

The royal powers however all ceased when, on the attainder and execution of the Duke of Buckingham, the lordship merged in the Crown, and all that remained were the ordinary manorial rights. What became of the ancient records at the time of the seizure and dispersion does not seem to be certainly known, though some are in the Public Record Office. A history of the Borough might be traced upwards from the documents and records of the present time, with a list of all the officers, and we should then know what is the unfilled gap. Now that there will be a new town hall, with, it is to be hoped, a proper muniment chamber where all such documents can be preserved, it may be possible properly to trace out and permanently record this history.

The circumstances in which I became possessed of this Charter are very curious and interesting. It is well known that in many auction sales in London ancient deeds and documents are frequently disposed of. A gentleman who was making collections of documents relating to the county of Stafford accidentally saw this document about to be sold. He saw in it the name Stafford, and bought it at once without examination. He afterwards saw the names Newport and Wentllwch, and thought they must relate to Newport in Shropshire and Wenlock Priory; and, as the meeting of the Archæological Institute was to be held at Shrewsbury

that year, he sent the deed unexamined for exhibition at the museum in Shrewsbury. Upon seeing the deed as exhibited, I at once recognised the document as belonging to the lordship of Wentllwch and Newport in Monmouthshire; and upon his discovery that the document in question had no relation to Staffordshire or Shropshire he most kindly sent it to me, and it now turns out to be one of the earliest and most interesting charters in the county of Monmouth, and beautifully illustrates the history of the lordship or *comitatus* of Wentllwch and the ancient Borough of Newport. There is, however, a great hiatus in the history, which it is I fear impossible to fill up.

[The Charter with its abbreviations extended, and a literal version of it, are here printed. The verbal errors, repetitions, and inconsistencies, either original or of transcription, being somewhat numerous, it is thought advisable to warn the reader once for all against them and let them stand, for they are characteristic of such documents; they are not such as to throw doubt on the meaning of any passage, and they are corrected or passed over in course of translation. To the Charter are subjoined remarks illustrating the document itself, and explaining the place of the Stafford Charters in the municipal history of Newport.—H. S. M.]

PRO BURGENSIBUS DE NEUPORTE IN WALLIA.

Humfridus Comes Staffordie Dominus de Tonebrugge et de Wenllouk omnibus Christi fidelibus presentem Cartam inspecturis salutem. Sciatis quod nos inspeximus cartam domini Hugonis nuper Comititis Staffordie avi nostri in hec verba.

Hugo comes Staffordie dominus de Tonebrugge et de Wenllouk omnibus ballivis et ministris suis ac aliis fidelibus presentem Cartam inspecturis salutem in Domino. Sciatis quod ad requisicionem dilectorum Burgensium nostrorum de Neuporte in Wallia libertatem ejusdem Ville habencium dedimus concessimus et hac presenti Carta nostra confirmavimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis omnes libertates subscriptas in perpetuum duraturas videlicet:

Ordinationes
Villam tangentes.

Prepositus Ville.

Concedimus eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes et successores sui libere facere possint ordinationes dispositiones proclamationes inhibitiones et defensiones de assisis panis vini et cervisie et assais ponderum et mensurarum et correccionibus et punicionibus carnificum piscenariorum et aliorum vitallariorum ac cissorum sutorum textorum et aliorum artificum ac omnium aliarum rerum dictam Villam tangencium faciendis ordinandis disponendis proclamandis inhibendis defendendis et excercendis quocienscumque et quandocumque voluerint. Et quod Prepositus Ville predictae per Burgenses ejusdem Ville libertatem habentes more solito electus qui pro tempore fuerit teneat hundreda nostra de quindena in quindenam infra Villam predictam per visum Constabularii nostri Anglici ibidem more solito et omnes hujusmodi assisas assaias correcciones et puniciones faciat et exequatur in hundredis nostris predictae Ville. Et quod idem Prepositus sic electus habeat cogniciones et determinationes omnium placitorum et querelarum transgressionum debiti compoti convencionum vel contractuum detencionum aut alterius cause cujuscumque condicionis fuerint tam ad sectam nostram quam ad sectam partium infra dictam Villam nostram et suburbium ac precinctum dicte Ville suburbii et precincti de quibus aliquis possit accusari occasionari sive placitari exceptis placitis Corone terre forstall et homsokyn salvis nobis finibus et amerciamentis inde

FOR THE BURGESSES OF NEWPORT IN WALES.

Humphrey Earl of Stafford Lord of Tonebrugge and of Wenllouk to all Christ's faithful who shall inspect the present Charter health. Know ye that we have inspected the Charter of Sir Hugh late Earl of Stafford our grandfather in these words :

Hugh Earl of Stafford Lord of Tonebrugge and of Wenllouk to all his bailiffs and ministers and other faithful men who shall inspect the present Charter health in the Lord. Know ye that at the request of our beloved Burgesses of Newport in Wales having the liberty of the same Town we have given granted and by this our present Charter confirmed for us and our heirs to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors all the liberties under-written which shall for ever last to wit :

Orders touching
the Town.

We grant to our same Burgesses that they their heirs and successors may have power freely to make ordinances dispositions proclamations inhibitions and defences about assizes of bread wine and beer and assays of weights and measures and corrections and punishments of butchers fishmongers and other victuallers and tailors shoemakers weavers and other workmen and of all other things touching the said Town by doing ordaining disposing proclaiming inhibiting defending and exercising how often soever and whensoever they please. And that the Provost of the Town aforesaid by the Burgesses having the liberty of the same Town in wonted sort chosen for the time being may hold our hundreds every fifteen days within the Town aforesaid by view of our English Constable there in wonted sort and do and carry out all assizes assays corrections and punishments of this sort in our hundreds of the aforesaid Town. And that the same Provost so chosen may have cognisances and determinations of all pleas and complaints of trespasses debt account conventions or contracts detinues or other cause of whatsoever kind they may be as well at our suit as at the suit of parties within our said Town and the suburb and precinct of the said Town suburb and precinct about which any one can be accused sued or impleaded except pleas of the Crown of land of forstall and of homsokyn

The Provost of
the Town.

provenientibus. Et quod omnes hujusmodi fines et amerciamenta fiant et taxentur per predictum Prepositum et ballivum suum electum per Burgenses libertatem Ville predictæ habentes et non per alios.

Curia de
Pipoudros.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod idem Prepositus sic electus qui pro tempore fuerit habeat cogniciones et determinaciones omnium placitorum querelarum contractuum transgressionum et aliarum causarum Curiam de Pipoudros tangencium de quibus aliquis possit occasionari sivi placitari ubicumque fuerit facta et ea audiat et determinat quandocumque et quotienscumque necesse fuerit.

Juratores Inquisitionum pro Villa.

Concedimus eciam predictis Burgensibus nostris quod de quibuscumque rebus causis contractibus convencionibus transgressionibus et querelis infra libertatem Ville predictæ occasionandis seu placitandis prefatos Burgenses nostros heredes seu successores suos tenentes et servientes suos cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes membra seu corpora earum terras burgagia redditus tenementa seu catalla eorum tangencibus unde inquisicio capi debeat sive in comitatu nostro Wenllouk sive in hundredo nostro predicto quod omnes juratores illius inquisitionis sint Burgenses libertatem ejusdem Ville habentes. Et quod nominentur eligantur et vocentur et in placito terre panellentur per dictum ballivum Burgensium electum et juratum. Et per predictos Prepositum et ballivum electos taxentur omnia amercianenta et fines inde provenientes et non per alios quoscunque. Et si aliquid inde alio modo sive alia forma facta fuerit per ministros nostros vacuum sit et pro nullo habeatur.

Juratores Inquisitionum pro Comitatu.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod de omnibus rebus et querelis extra libertatem Ville nostre predictæ accusandis occasionandis seu placitandis prefatos Burgenses nostros heredes seu successores suos tenentes et servientes suos cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes membra seu corpora earum terre redditus tenementa seu catalla eorum tangencibus unde inquisicio capi debeat infra Comitatum nostrum predictum quod medietas illius inquisitionis sit de Burgensibus libertatem predictæ Ville habentibus per electionem nominacionem et vocacionem ballivi nostri Burgensium electi et

saving to us the fines and amerciaments thence arising. And that all fines and amerciaments of this sort be made and taxed by the aforesaid Provost and his bailiff chosen by the Burgesses having the liberty of the Town aforesaid and not by others.

Court of Pipoudros.

We grant also to our same Burgesses that the same Provost so chosen for the time being may have cognisances and determinations of all pleas complaints contracts trespasses and other causes touching the Court of Pipoudros about which any one can be sued or impleaded wheresoever they may be done and may hear and determine them whensoever and how often soever it may be necessary.

Jurors at Town Inquests.

We grant also to our aforesaid Burgesses that about whatsoever things causes contracts conventions trespasses and complaints to be sued or pleaded within the liberty of the Town aforesaid touching our aforementioned Burgesses their heirs and successors their tenants and servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty their limbs or bodies their lands burgages rents tenements or chattels whereof inquest ought to be taken either in our County of Wenllouk or in our hundred aforesaid that all jurors of that inquest may be Burgesses having the liberty of the same Town. And that they may be named chosen and called and in plea of land panelled by the said chosen and sworn bailiff of the Burgesses. And that by the aforesaid chosen Provost and bailiff may be taxed all amerciaments and fines thence arising and not by others whomsoever. And if anything therein in other sort or other form be done by our ministers it may be void and had for null.

Jurors at County Inquests.

We grant also to our same Burgesses that about all things and complaints to be accused sued or pleaded beyond the liberty of our Town aforesaid touching our aforementioned Burgesses their heirs or successors their tenants and servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty their limbs or bodies their land rents tenements or chattels whereof inquest ought to be taken within our County aforesaid that half of that inquest may be of Burgesses having the liberty of the aforesaid Town by the choice nomination and call of our chosen and sworn bailiff of the Burgesses and not by others; and the other half may

jurati et non per alios. Et alia medietas sit de forinsecis per electionem et vocacionem ballivi ubi actus processit. Et si Burgenses nostri tenentes aut servientes sui cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes inciderint in misericordiam nostram quod ipsi taxentur per dictum Burgensium ballivum Ville predictæ electum et juratum. Et si forinseci inciderint in misericordiam nostram quod ipsi taxentur per ballivum forinsecum et si aliquid inde alio modo sive alia forma factum fuerit per ministros nostros vanum sit et pro nullo habeatur.

Terminus Nundinarum S. Laurencii.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod habeant nundinas infra Ballivam Ville predictæ durantes a Vigilia Sancti Laurencii incipiente et durantes per quindecim dies sequentes et quod audiantur et determinentur per Prepositum predictum omnia placita de feloniam forstallo homsokynes sanguine fuso et omnibus aliis causis et querelis quibuscumque dominio nostro regali emergentibus infra terminum nundinarum predictarum et infra precinctum Ville predictæ faciendis occasionandis seu placitandis ad sectam nostram excepto placito terre in quodam hundredo nostro vocato Feyrhundrede. Ac eciam quod audiantur determinentur et taxentur per predictos Prepositum et ballivum infra terminum nundinarum predictarum omnia placita transgressionis debiti compoti detencionum convencionum contractuum querelarum sive aliarum quarumcumque causarum ad sectam partium ubicumque facta fuerint quociens et quandocumque necesse fuerit.

Placita in Dominio "Regali."

Legatio Terrarum infra Bundas subscriptas.

Volumus eciam et concedimus predictis Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes et successores sui libere legare possint omnia burgagia terras redditus et tenementa cum eorum pertinentiis per ipsos adquisita cuicumque et quibuscumque voluerint ad voluntatem eorum jacentia infra bundas subscriptas preter ad mortuam manum.

Bunde Terrarum.

Et tales sunt bunde videlicet a cimiterio Sancti Gunlei usque terras domini nativas quondam Roberti Houlot et Johannis Dawe terras vocatas Brendekyrgh croftum vocatum Corteyscrofte ibidem et croftum Margerii Waite ibidem annexum terras quondam Rogeri Clerici vocatas Coumicheshull deinde per viam usque ad Capellam Sancti Thome Ita quod tota via ibidem sit infra bundas Ville predictæ. Et deinde per viam usque Bryngeland Ita quod tota

be of foreigners by choice and call of the bailiff where the action has proceeded. And if our Burgesses their tenants or servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty fall into our mercy that they may be taxed by the said chosen and sworn bailiff of the Burgesses of the Town aforesaid. And if foreigners should fall into our mercy that they may be taxed by the foreign bailiff. And if anything therein in other sort or other form shall be done by our ministers it may be vain and had for null.

Term of Markets
of St. Laurence.

We grant also to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors that they may have markets within the Bailey of the Town aforesaid lasting from the beginning of the Vigil of St. Laurence and lasting for fifteen days following and that there may be heard and determined by the Provost aforesaid all pleas of felony forstall homsokyn bloodshed and of all other causes and complaints whatsoever arising in

Pleas in "Royal"
Lordship.

our royal lordship within the term of the markets aforesaid and within the precinct of the Town aforesaid to be made sued or pleaded at our suit except plea of land in a certain hundred of ours called Feyrhundrede. And also that there be heard determined and taxed by the aforesaid Provost and bailiff within the term of the markets aforesaid all pleas of trespass debt account detinues conventions contracts complaints or other causes whatsoever at the suit of parties wheresoever they be done how often and whenssoever may be necessary.

Devise of Lands
within the Bounds
underwritten.

We will also and grant to our aforesaid Burgesses that they their heirs and successors may have power freely to devise all burgages lands rents and tenements with appurtenances thereof by them acquired to whomsoever they please lying at their will within the bounds underwritten save to the dead hand.

The Bounds of
the Lands.

And such are the bounds to wit from the burial ground of Saint Woollos to the native lands of the lord formerly of Robert Houlot and John Dawe the lands called Brendekyrgh the croft called Corteyscrofte there and the croft of Margaret Waite there annexed the lands formerly of Roger the clerk called Coumicheshull thence by the road on to the Chapel of Saint Thomas so that the whole road there may be within the bounds of the Town aforesaid. And thence

via ibidem sit infra bundas Ville predictæ Et sic per fossatum inter terras et burgagia Burgencium et dictam Bryngelond descendendo ad cursum aque molendini domini et sic per croftum dicte Bryngelond et aliarum terrarum usque vivarium de Kemell Ita quod totus cursus aque ibidem sit infra bundas Ville predictæ Et sic per dictum vivarium usque saxum vocatum le Rocke ex opposito domus Johannis ap Adam deinde ultra viam usque terras dicti Johannis et David ap Jevan ap David terras vocatas le Halys et pratum vocatum Crinde et sic per aquam a la parkpull usque Groundesende infra dominium nostrum et per terram usque Crokeslande Mullond lond Kyngeshull et terras Abbatis Gloucestrie usque dictum cimiterium.

Manucapcio et
Pleggium.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod nec ipsi nec heredes nec sucessores sui tenentes nec servientes sui cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes capi nec imprisonari debeant in Castro nostro de Neuporte nec alibi pro aliquis causis eos tangentibus dum manucapcionem sub pena centum solidorum pro aliqua causa tangentium feloniam finem aut personam possint invenire nisi in casu felonum tantum cum manu opere capti fuerint nec pro transgressionem causa aut querela quacumque dum pleggium sub pena decem solidorum possint invenire.

Causa Arestacionis monstranda.

Concedimus eciam predictis Burgensibus nostris quod nec ipsi nec heredes nec sucessores sui tenentes nec servientes sui cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes de cetero non teneantur nec compellantur ad inveniendam manucapcionem seu pleggium ballivis nostris aliqua causa eos tangente donec causa arestacionis sive attachiamenti eisdem manifeste sit monstrata per eosdem ballivos et hoc in presencia proborum et legalium Burgensium Ville predictæ.

Selde, Taberne,
etc.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris et heredibus et successoribus suis quod nullus teneat seldam apertam de aliquibus mercandis nec tabernam nec corficinam nec aliquam cissuram artificii seu vitallariorum faciat in Villa nostra predicta nisi fuerit cum

by the road on to Bryngeland so that the whole road there may be within the bounds of the Town aforesaid and so by the ditch between the lands and burgages of the Burgesses and the said Bryngelond in going down to the water-course of the lord's mill and so by the croft of the said Bryngelond and of other lands on to the pond of Kemell so that the whole water-course there may be within the bounds of the Town aforesaid and so by the said pond on to the stone called le Rocke opposite to the house of John ap Adam thence over the road on to the lands of the said John and of David ap Jevan ap David the lands called le Halys and the meadow called Crinde and so by the water a la Parkpull on to Groundesende within our lordship and by the land on to Crokeslonde Mullond lond Kyngeshull and the lands of the Abbat of Gloucester on to the said burial ground.

Mainprise and
Pledge.

We grant also to our same Burgesses that neither they nor their heirs nor successors their tenants nor servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the same liberty ought to be taken nor imprisoned in our Castle of Newport or elsewhere for any causes touching them so long as they can find mainprise under penalty of a hundred shillings for any cause touching felony fine or person except in case of felons only when they be taken in very act nor for trespass cause or plaint whatsoever so long as they can find pledge under penalty of ten shillings.

Cause of Arrest
to be shown.

We grant also to our aforesaid Burgesses that neither they nor their heirs nor successors their tenants nor servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty henceforth be held nor compelled to find bail nor pledge to our bailiffs in any cause touching them until the cause of arrest or attachment be clearly shown to the same by the same bailiffs and that in the presence of honest and lawful Burgesses of the Town aforesaid.

Shops, Taverns,
etc.

We grant also to our same Burgesses and their heirs and successors that no one may hold an open shop of any merchandise nor tavern nor butchery nor do any cutting of workmanship or of victuallers in our Town aforesaid unless he be sojourning and

predictis Burgensibus nostris commorans et residens et infra Gildam libertatis eorum receptus.

Gilda.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes et successores sui Gildam inter eos libere facere possunt et habeant et gaudeant quo tempore et quandocumque voluerint ad voluntatem ipsorum.

Proclamaciones
in Comitatu.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes nec successores sui nec eorum tenentes nec servientes cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes de cetero non sint obligati ligati seu artati per proclamaciones ordinaciones inhibiciones seu defenciones in Comitatu nostro Wenllouk factas seu faciendas.

Constabulffes.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes successores sui tenentes et servientes cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem commorantes de cetero sint exonerati de quinque denariis qui vocantur Constabulffes pro omnibus causis super eos imponendis nisi convicti fuerint de feloniam.

Teolonium.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes et successores sui quieti sint et liberi de Teolonio Muragio Pantagio Panagio Terragio Caragio Picagio et aliis diversis custumis et consuetudinibus per totum dominium nostrum tam in Anglia quam in Wallia.

Nundine infra
Villam.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis quod omnes mercatores faciant nundinas et foras infra Villam nostram predictam et non alibi infra dominia nostra ubi foro aut nundinis dicte Ville sint nociva exceptis nundinis ab antiquo

“Regales” Vici.

tempore usitatis Et quod omnes mercatores cum eorem mercandiziis alibi non transeant per dominia nostra nec per aquam nec per terram quam per regales vicos Ville nostre predictae ea de causa ut nos nec heredes nostri tolnetum nostrum aut alias custumas nobis debitas aliquo tempore amittamus.

Marchia.

Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris quod ipsi heredes nec successores sui tenentes nec servientes sui cum eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis infra dictam libertatem

lodging with our aforesaid Burgesses and received into the Gild of their liberty.

Gild. We grant also to our same Burgesses that they their heirs and successors may be able freely to make a Gild among themselves and may have and enjoy it at what time and whensoever they will at their own will.

Proclamations in the County. We grant also to our same Burgesses that neither they nor their heirs nor successors nor their tenants nor servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty henceforth be obliged bound nor limited by proclamations ordinances inhibitions or defences made or to be made in our County of Wenllouk.

Constable-Fees. We grant also to our same Burgesses that they their heirs and successors tenants and servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said liberty henceforth may be discharged from the five pence which are called Constabulffes to be laid upon them for all causes unless they have been convicted of felony.

Toll. We grant also to our same Burgesses that they their heirs and successors may be quit and free of Toll Murage Pontage Panage Terrage Carage Picage and other diverse customs and usages throughout our whole domain as well in England as in Wales.

Markets within the Town. We grant also to our same Burgesses their heirs and successors that all merchants may make markets and fairs within our Town aforesaid and not elsewhere within our lordships where they may be hurtful to the fair or market of the said Town except markets of old time used. And that all merchants with their merchandizes pass not elsewhere over our lordships neither over water nor over land than by the royal streets of our Town aforesaid for this cause that neither we nor our heirs may at any time lose our toll or other customs due to us.

"Royal" Streets. We grant also to our same Burgesses that neither they their heirs nor successors their tenants nor servants sojourning with our same Burgesses their heirs and successors within the said

commorantes exhire non debent extra eorum libertatem ad aliqua facienda ad Marchiam vel alibi contra eorum voluntatem.

Ballivi Forinceci. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod nullus ballivus seu minister noster forincecus colore ballive sue seu officii sui summoniciones seu attachiamenta faciat infra bundas predictae Ville nostre nec districtiones capiat pro aliqua causa nisi tantum modo ballivi ejusdem modo Ville electi et si quodcumque feodum seu feoda ballivi forinceci infra dictam Villam optinere de consuetudine debent de aliqua mercandiza per deliberacionem et visum ballivi Ville nostre predictae dictis ballis nostris forincecis tantummodo liberentur et non alio modo.

Coronator Ville. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod Constabularius Castri nostri de Neuporte qui pro tempore fuerit sit Coronator predictae Ville et plenam potestatem habeat de quacumque causa officio Coronatoris pertinente inquirere et omnia alia facere que ad officium Coronatoris de morte hominis pertinere debent aliis consuetudinibus aut successionibus contrariis non obstantibus dum tamen quod de morte infancium de quorum morte punicio pertinet ad Episcopum Ordinarium Coronator aliquis nullo modo intromittat se et in casu quod dictus Constabularius noster qui est pro tempore sit absens extra libertatem ejusdem Ville Prepositus qui pro tempore fuerit ibidem eandem habeat potestatem.

Ballivi Ville. Concedimus eciam eisdem Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis quod ballivi nostri Ville nostre predictae non sint ligati faciendum preceptum Vicecomitis Coronatoris aut alterius ministri nostri forinceci seu alterius cujuscunque ad summonendum attachiandum seu aliud officium quodcumque faciendum ad comitatum nostrum seu curias nostras de aliquibus causis pertinentibus seu spectantibus ad libertatem Burgensium nostrorum predictorum et ad cognicionem et determinacionem hundredi nostri predicti dum tamen illud officium ad hundredum nostrum facere voluerit et si contingerit aliquid fieri in Comitatu sive in curiis nostris contra tenorem istius Carte aliqua causa emergente quod calumpnietur per ballivos nostros dicte Ville nostre et quod tunc inde fiat liberacio indilate ballivis Ville predictae ad audiendum et determinandum in hundredo nostro predicto.

liberty ought to go forth beyond their liberty to do anything in the March or elsewhere against their will.

Foreign Bailiffs.

We grant also to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors that no foreign bailiff nor minister of ours under cover of his bailiwick or his office may make summonses or attachments within the bounds of our aforesaid Town nor take distresses for any cause save only the chosen bailiffs of the said Town and if any fee or fees whatsoever of a foreign bailiff ought by usage to obtain within the said Town for any merchandise such may be made over only by delivery and view of the bailiff of our Town aforesaid to our said foreign bailiffs and in no other sort.

Coroner of the Town.

We grant also to the same Burgesses their heirs and successors that the Constable of our Castle of Newport for the time being may be the Coroner of the aforesaid Town and have full power to inquire about every cause belonging to the office of Coroner and to do all other things which ought to belong to the office of Coroner concerning death of man other contrary usages or successions notwithstanding Provided however that no Coroner in any way interfere concerning death of infants the punishment in respect of whose death belongs to the Bishop Ordinary And in case our said Constable for the time being be absent beyond the liberty of the same Town the Provost for the time being there may have the same power.

Bailiffs of the Town.

We grant also to our same Burgesses their heirs and successors that our bailiffs of our said Town be not bound to do the precept of our Viscount Coroner or other foreign minister or other person whomsoever to summon attach or do any other office whatsoever at our County or our courts concerning any causes belonging or having respect to the liberty of our Burgesses aforesaid and to the cognisance and determination of our hundred aforesaid provided however as he may please to do that office at our hundred and if it happen that anything be done in our County or courts against the tenor of this Charter on any cause arising that it be challenged by our bailiffs of our said Town and that then livery thereof be made without delay to the bailiffs of the Town aforesaid to hear and determine in our hundred aforesaid.

Libertates non
expresse.

Preterea ad maiorem securitatem predictorum Burgensium nostrorum heredum et successorum suorum concedimus et hac presenti Carta nostra confirmamus et ratificamus pro nobis et heredibus nostris imperpetuum prefatis Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis omnes libertates et consuetudines suas antiquas sive sint superius expresse sive non in dicta Villa de Neuporte et precincto ejusdem Ville licet ipsi Burgenses vel eorum predecessores aliqua vel aliquibus libertatum et consuetudinum predictarum aliquo casu emergente antea usi non fuerint eisdem libertatibus et consuetudinibus et earum qualibet de cetero plene gaudeant et utantur sine occasione vel impedimento nostri heredum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque imperpetuum. Et nos predictus Hugo et heredes nostri omnes predictas libertates et consuetudines concessionem confirmationes et ratificationes cum eorum pertinentiis prefatis Burgensibus nostris heredibus et successoribus suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti Carte tam sigillum armorum nostrorum quam sigillum Cancellarii nostri de Neuporte fecimus apponi. Hiis testibus :

Domino NICHOLAO DE STAFFORD, chivaler, tunc
Senescallo nostro,
Domino NICHOLAO SHIREBORNE, Clerico,
JOHANNE FRENYNHAM,
JOHANNE DE WEXCUMBE,
JOHANNE SEWELL,
JOHANNE KEMEYS,
JOHANNE DE BANHAM,
LEWELINO AP MORGAN,
THOMA AP IVOR,
ROGERO AP ADAM,
WILLELMO FLEMMYNG, et aliis.

Data apud Castrum nostrum de Neuporte die Jovis proximo ante Festum Sanctorum Tibericii et Valeriani anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post Conquestum octavo.

Liberties not
expressed.

Further for the greater security of our aforesaid Burgesses their heirs and successors We grant and by this our present Charter confirm and ratify for us and our heirs for ever to our afore-mentioned Burgesses their heirs and successors all their ancient liberties and usages whether they be above expressed or not in the said Town of Newport and the precinct of the same Town although those Burgesses or their predecessors have not before used any one or more of the liberties and usages aforesaid through any chance arising that they may henceforth fully enjoy and use the same liberties and usages and every of them without suit or impediment of us our heirs or ministers whomsoever for ever.

And we the aforesaid Hugh and our heirs will warrant and defend all the aforesaid liberties and usages grants confirmations and ratifications with their appurtenances to our afore-mentioned Burgesses their heirs and successors against all people for ever.

In testimony whereof we have caused to be annexed to this present Charter as well the seal of our arms as the seal of our Chancellor of Newport. Witnesses these—

SIR NICHOLAS OF STAFFORD, knight, then our
Steward,
SIR NICHOLAS SHIREBORNE, clerk,
JOHN FRENYNHAM,
JOHN OF WEXCOMBE,
JOHN SEWELL,
JOHN KEMEYS,
JOHN OF BANHAM,
LEWELIN AP MORGAN,
THOMAS AP IVOR,
ROGER AP ADAM,
WILLIAM FLEMMYNG,
and others.

Given at our Castle of Newport on Thursday next before the Feast of Saints Tiburcius and Valerian in the eighth year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the Conquest.

Nos autem predictus Humfridus predictam Cartam omnia et singula in eadem contenta rata et grata habentes et gratum ea pro nobis et heredibus nostris ratificamus et approbamus ac prefatis Burgensibus eorum servientibus et tenentibus suis infra Villam predicatam commorantibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus suis concedimus et confirmamus sicut Carta predicta rationabiliter testatur et prout iidem Burgenses et tenentes et servientes Burgensium Ville predictae libertatibus et quietanciis predicatis uti et gaudere debent ipsique et antecessores sui libertatibus et quietanciis illis a tempore confectionis Carte predicti Hugonis semper hactenus rationabiliter uti et gaudere consueverunt.

In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti Carte tam sigillum armorum nostrorum quam sigillum Cancellarii nostri de Neuporte fecimus apponi. Hiis testibus :

JOHANNE GRESELEY, chivaler,
ROBERTO STRILLEY, chivaler,
WILLELMO THOMAS, chivaler,
JOHANNE MERBURY,
HUGONE ERDESWYK,
ROBERTO GREINDOUR,
JOHANNE RUSSELL,
WILLELMO BURLEY,
THOMA ARBLASTER,
JOHANNE BEDULF, et
JOHANNE HARPUR, et aliis.

Data apud Castrum nostrum de Neuporte tercio die Aprilis anno regni Regis Henri Sexti post Conquestum quinto.

L. S.
Armorum.

L. S.
Cancellarii.

Now We the aforesaid Humphrey holding the aforesaid Charter all and singular the things contained in the same good and pleasing for us and our heirs ratify and approve them and grant and confirm them to the aforementioned Burgesses their servants and tenants sojourning within the Town aforesaid and to their heirs and successors as the Charter aforesaid reasonably witnesses and according as the same Burgesses and the tenants and servants of the Burgesses of the Town aforesaid ought to use and enjoy the liberties and quittances aforesaid and they and their ancestors from the time of the making of the Charter of the aforesaid Hugh ever hitherto have been wont reasonably to use and enjoy those liberties and quittances.

In witness whereof we have caused to be annexed to this present Charter as well the seal of our arms as the seal of our Chancellor of Newport. Witnesses these—

JOHN GRESELEY, knight,
ROBERT STRILLEY, knight,
WILLIAM THOMAS, knight,
JOHN MERBURY,
HUGH ERDESWYK,
ROBERT GREINDOUR,
JOHN RUSSELL,
WILLIAM BURLEY,
THOMAS ARBLASTER,
JOHN BEDULF, and
JOHN HARPUR,
and others.

Given at our Castle of Newport the third day of April in the fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the Conquest.

L. S.
Armorum.

L. S.
Cancellarii.

REMARKS.

The grants of Earl Hugh to his Burgesses speak for themselves, and might be made the subject of much instructive comment for which there is no space here ; but an exception to one of them requires especial notice. The grantor, in naming among the powers of the Coroner that of inquest concerning the death of man, forbids him to interfere in the case of the death of infants, jurisdiction in such matters belonging to the Bishop Ordinary. On this exception all the ancient books, so far as the writer knows, are silent, except one. In *Le Myrrour des Justices*, a law-tract of the Edwardian period (which was first printed in 1642, and deserves to be reprinted from the best MS., that at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), occurs the following passage (chap. iv. sec. 16, p. 259) : “ Des enfants occise en le primer an de lour age soit a la cognoissance del esglise.” This jurisdiction of the Church has been traced (with the aid of our Fellow, Mr. Everard Green) to the provision in the Canon Law, that parents accidentally overlaying their infants should undergo two years’ penance (*Corp. Jur. Canon.* lib. v. tit. x. cap. 3), and to the consequent Rubric in the *Rituale Romanum*, “ Curet parochus parentes infantis admoneri, ne in lecto secum ipsi vel nutrices parvulum habeant, propter oppressionis periculum.” When and how this exception from the Law Civil in favour of the Law Ecclesiastical disappeared, is a question which the writer is unable to answer.

The Welsh Inquisition taken on the death of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, which happened at Rhodes on the 14th of October (10 Ric. II.), 1386, is a useful illustration of his Charter. It was taken at Newport in the March of Wales, on Monday next after the Feast of St. Matthias, that is, on the 25th of February (10 Ric. II.), 1386-7, before Thomas Walweyn, the King’s Escheator in the counties of Gloucester and Hereford and the March of Wales adjoining, at Newport in the said March, by the oath of the following as jurors :—

JOHN KEMMEYS,
[LLEWELYN] AP MORGAN,
ALEXANDER SORE,
ROGER AP ADAM,

TREHAYRON AP PHILIP,
DAVID AP PHILIP,
BLETHIN AP GRIFFITH,
PHILIP AP WYLYM,
JEVAN AP JANEKYN KEMMEYS,
JEVAN AP HOWELL AP JEVAN AP HOWELL,
JOHN CLERC,
and
WILLIAM PACKER.

As might be supposed, several of the witnesses to the Charter reappear as jurors to the Inquisition which so soon followed. The jurors found that the Earl died seised of the Castle and Town of Newport, and the lordship with its members, and other lands and tenements adjoining, all which are named, described, and valued at length, and that all these were held of the King in chief, not simply, but as parcels of the Honor of Gloucester. Hence it would seem that this district of the March had, on its conquest by Robert Fitz Hamon and his successors, been feudally subjected to the Honor of Gloucester which they then held.

The retention of this Honor by the Crown for the sake of its feudal influence beyond the realm exemplifies the constant policy of the Crown with respect to Wales in mediæval times, a policy which consisted in gradually grasping all superior rights, powers, and jurisdictions in that country, and never parting with any, and which finally resulted in the union of Wales to the realm of England in the reign of Henry VIII.

There are, or lately were, among the records of the Borough of Newport, two Royal Documents in favour of the Burgesses, the one Letters Patent, dated 4th November (27 Eliz.), 1585, the other also Letters Patent, dated 20 Sept. (21 Jac.), 1623. The first was long since printed in full and in the original Latin on a separate sheet. Abstracts of both were printed in English in 1801 by Coxe (*Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, p. 46, App. No. 4). They require some explanation in reference to the Charter here printed.

A Royal Charter dated 4th March (17 Edw. II.), 1324, granted to Hugh le Despencer the younger (the husband of Alianore, eldest sister and coheir of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, deceased) certain liberties throughout all the King's dominions in favour of a group of seven boroughs which were then in possession

of the said Hugh as his wife's inheritance. This group was soon afterwards broken up, and the boroughs passed into the possession or under the protection of separate lords, but probably every one of these boroughs retained a copy or at least a record of the Royal Charter, and obtained Letters Patent from successive sovereigns in confirmation thereof to itself separately. Newport certainly did so, and the Letters Patent of Elizabeth above referred to mark the last occasion of this proceeding. These Royal Documents were, in relation to Charters issued to these boroughs by immediate lords, concurrent and cumulative. They kept in memory and in use liberties external to the lordship within which the borough was situated, and very valuable commercially to the Burgesses, especially to such Burgesses as those of Newport, who enjoyed great natural advantages for trade by sea.

Charters granted to boroughs by subjects belong to the Middle Ages. Probably none such bear date later than the accession of the Tudor Dynasty. But certainly they were in use immediately before that event. The Charter here presented shows on its face that it was not the first Charter granted by a Stafford; neither was it the last, for the Letters Patent of James I. above mentioned refer to "Charters" granted by Henry Duke of Buckingham. Edward Stafford, son of that Duke, obtained restoration of the honours and estates of his attainted father and enjoyed them for thirty-four years; but this took place under Tudor sovereigns. The silence of the Letters Patent of James I. as to any Charter granted by Edward Duke of Buckingham seems conclusive that he did not follow the examples of his forefathers, and this omission on his part is an argument that such an act on the part of a subject had ceased to be admissible.

The accession of the Stuart Dynasty, so fruitful in new practices, seems to mark a change in the practice of the Crown concerning Municipal Charters. The King was advised, in reference to every borough applying for his favour, to presume that all municipal liberties Royal as well as manorial had come within his disposal, to collect such as were reasonable and proper into one confirmatory document, to add words which should incorporate the borough if its previous incorporation were doubtful, and to confer additional liberties suitable to the more advanced state of law and commerce. The concurrent Charters of the Sovereign and the immediate lord may thus be conceived as contributory to the privileges formulated by King James and ever since accepted as the constitution of the borough.

If the above view be correct concerning the Charters of Newport, that now presented, together with those previously known, form a valuable item of evidence

in respect of the growth of our municipal institutions, and enable us to read with increased interest a topographical description of Newport three hundred years ago. It follows a description of Caerleon.

The Towne of
Neawport.

On a round hill by
the Church there
is for Sea and
Land the most
princely sight that
any man living at
one instant may
with perfect eye
behold.

The Towne hath
Marchants in it.
A Castle is at
the end of this
Towne and full
by the Bridges
and River.

A Towne nere this, that buylt is all a length,
Cal'd Neawport now, there is full fayre to viewe :
Which Seate doth stand, for profite more then strength,
A right strong Bridge, is there of Timber newe :
A River runnes full nere the Castle wall :
Nere Church likewise, a Mount behold you shall,
Where Sea and Land to sight so plaine appeeres,
That there men see a part of five fayre Sheeres.

As upward hye, aloft to Mountaine top,
This Market townne, is buylt in healthfull sort :
So downeward loe, is many a marchants shop,
And many sayle, to Bristowe from that Port.
Of auncient tyme a citie hath it bin,
And in those daies the Castle hard to win :
Which yet shewes fayre, and is repayred a parte,
As things decayd, must needes be helpt by arte.

The Worthines of Wales, by Thomas Churchyard, 1587.

H. S. M.

XXIII.—*On Consecration Crosses, with some English examples. Communicated*
by JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Read Feb. 23, 1882.

THE Ceremony of the Consecration of a Church as it was practised shortly before the Norman Conquest is well described in a paper communicated in 1833 by Mr. John Gage, then Director, and printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 235. He also gives in full the Consecration Service from an English MS. Pontifical of the eleventh century in the Rouen library.

I will, therefore, only remark that an important part of this service consisted in crosses marked upon the walls by the officiating bishop with oil of chrism, at twenty-four different places, distributed equally throughout the building; that is, three crosses on the north, south, east, and west walls respectively, both inside and out.* The number, twenty-four, is not specified in the rubric of the eleventh century Pontifical, which only says: "Deinde in circuitu Ecclesie per parietes a dextro et a sinistro faciens crucem cum pollice de ipso crismate, dicens," &c.; but this number appears to have been used from very early times.

It was the custom, both in England and on the Continent, to mark beforehand the places where the bishop was to anoint the walls with chrism. This was done by crosses of various shapes and sizes, carved in stone, modelled in plaster, painted (generally in red), or lastly by metal crosses affixed to the walls. In some cases two of these methods were employed in the same cross. That these crosses were prepared beforehand, ready for the bishop to put the chrism on it, is, I think, proved by the fact that many of them are in relief, and have obviously not been added after the church was finished.

* Durandus, in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. I. c. vi. gives an interesting, though fanciful, account of the meanings of the various ceremonies in the Consecration Service.

Moreover, a fine MS. Missal of the sixteenth century (Brit. Mus. *Addit. MS.* 18143) shows the bishop in the act of anointing one of these crosses, which are shown ready-painted on the walls. The illumination is a curious one, as it shows the bishop in cope and mitre climbing a ladder to reach the cross, which is placed over a column of a high arcade, inside a church. Two clerks in alb and cassock are singing out of a book; and others, apparently boys, stand by bearing a candlestick, a processional cross, and a holy water-pot and sprinkler. The crosses are gold, within circles, alternately blue and red; they are *formée* at the points, and the angles are filled up by four smaller crosses. (See fig.)



Mr. Gage mentions a Pontifical, printed at Rome in 1595, which has a print showing the bishop marking a cross "mounted on a moveable stage six steps high, the rubric requiring that the said crosses shall be ten palms (7 feet 5 inches) above the floor."^a This somewhat inconvenient height was probably selected in order that the crosses might be out of reach, and less exposed to injury. The rule was by no means universally observed, as in numberless instances, especially early ones, the crosses are quite low down.

I have selected this subject to lay before the Society of Antiquaries, first, because these crosses are rapidly disappearing under the skinning and scraping process, which our churches are one by one suffering, under the name of "restoration," a process which in most cases not only destroys the generally faint remains of consecration crosses, but also obliterates all marks of the various fittings and furniture which give life and interest to an old church. A large number of the crosses mentioned and illustrated in the following notes have disappeared in the last seven or eight years. Another point of interest is the light that these crosses throw on the re-consecration of churches or parts of churches. Further, they often afford valuable evidence as to the date of wall paintings which they cover or form part of.

In churches that are built of rubble stonework with ashlar dressings the crosses often are to be found on buttresses, angle-stones, and door-jambs: places selected on account of the smooth-dressed stone affording a better surface for painting or carving. In most cases, however, rough walling in mediæval churches, whether inside or outside, was covered with stucco. Modern "restorers" generally cut this away under the notion that bare stone walls are mediæval. Many of the crosses in my list have been destroyed in this way. One of the most curious cases

^a In Brit. Mus. Library. See *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. p. 277.

I ever met with was at North Repps, in Norfolk, a church built of roughly-cut flints in the usual Norfolk fashion. Patches of stucco, about a foot square, were laid on the walls outside to the full number of twelve, and on these the consecration crosses were painted. On going there a few weeks ago to make full-sized drawings of them I found that since my former visit the church had been "restored" and every trace of these stucco patches cut away from the walls.



Type A.

The forms of the crosses are numerous, but the commonest of all is type A. The figure is always scratched into the stone or plaster with compasses, and then generally painted.

The earliest specimen I know of this figure is at Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire, where it is very deeply cut into a respond of the nave arcade (see Pl. xxxiii. fig. 1), date about 1190—1200. In this case the church has been reconsecrated in the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the choir was lengthened and the high altar moved eastwards. There is a consecration cross of this later date on each side of the west door. It should be noted that a consecration cross is often much later than the wall it is on, owing to the re-consecration of the *whole* building while only a part was new.

In some cases, when an addition to a church was a chapel complete in itself, the new part only was consecrated, and had all the twenty-four crosses. This was the case at Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster, where there are still visible three small crosses in each of the aisles, and three large ones at the west end above the doorways (Pl. xxxiv. fig. 2). Another instance of this is at Arundel Church, where there still remain five large crosses painted red (of the type A), so arranged that it is evident that the nave and its aisles had the full number of crosses without counting any in the choir.

Perhaps the commonest Norman form is a cross, made by simple cuts with a dot at each end (Pl. xxxiii. fig. 24). Another early form is a plain cross with slightly expanded ends (fig. 25).

In a few instances the crosses are large, richly carved, and form a conspicuous part of the architectural ornament of the church.

At Salisbury Cathedral there is a very fine and elaborate set; eight inside and eight outside are still visible. The rest have been hidden by monuments or destroyed by "restoration." Unfortunately, at Salisbury the "restorer" has not been content with destruction, but has committed forgery as well. Outside at the west end two sham consecration crosses have been put up in the gables of the aisle doorways, which was *not* the position of the original crosses. The real

ones are of three sorts (Pl. xxxv. figs. 3, 4, and 5). The first variety inside are a cross flory, about 2 feet across, incised about a quarter of an inch into the stone. Small metal pins, the stumps of which still remain, show that this sinking was filled up by a metal cross. Traces of green stain show that this was of bronze, probably gilt. A quatrefoiled circle is painted in red with black outlines round the cross. About 5 inches below the sunk cross there is another metal pin, which may have served to fix a candlestick for use on the anniversary of the consecration or on other festivals.^a These crosses are just below the string-course, the lowest point of each being 7 feet 6 inches from the level of the nave-floor. The cross in the north-east transept has been filled up with plaster. In the south-east transept a modern tomb occupies the place where the cross should be. The cross at the west end inside appears to have been filled in and coloured, the limbs red and the points yellow. At the four points, and in two angles, are stumps of $\frac{1}{2}$ in. iron pegs.

The second variety at Salisbury, outside the church, is like those inside, except that the quatrefoiled circle is carved and moulded in stone (fig. 4). There are the same pins for fixing the bronze cross and the candle below. All those outside belong to this type except one (fig. 5), which is very richly carved; it has had no metal cross inserted but an overlying quatrefoil carved, of which a section is shown on the Plate. It has the pin below. This one cross is on the south-east buttress of the main transept. Its lower point is 3 feet 1 inch above the top of the plinth, 7 feet 1 inch above the ground. The Plan (Pl. xxxvi.) shows the position of all the crosses now visible. It will be observed that the choir and eastern part of the church has the full number of crosses on the side walls, leaving none for the nave. This is probably due to the fact that the choir was built and consecrated, as was often the case, before the erection of the nave. When the nave was built the whole church was probably reconsecrated,^b six new crosses

^a I owe this suggestion, as well as much other valuable help in working up this subject, to J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A. The crosses in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, mentioned above, have a wood-plug in their centre, and another wood-plug 20 inches below—no doubt for the same purpose, for fixing the metal cross, and the candlestick or lamp below. The six side crosses are 8 feet above the floor, the three western ones more than 20 feet up.

^b Durandus, *Rat. Div. Offi.* lib. I. c. vi. n. 31, gives the reasons that make it necessary for a church to be re-consecrated:—First. If it is burnt so that all or the greater part of the walls have their surfaces destroyed, but not for the mere burning of the roofs. Second. If the whole or most part of the church falls down, but not if the church is rebuilt piecemeal. Third. If there is a real doubt whether the church ever was consecrated, and no record can be found.

being put at the new west end, and the remaining eighteen old crosses anointed with chrism a second time. The height of the crosses is 7 feet 6 inches to their lower points from the floor of the church and the original ground level outside, the height ordered by the later Roman rubrics.

Another instance of re-consecration appears to exist at Chichester Cathedral. At the east ends of the aisles there are plain sunk crosses cut deep into the stone (Pl. xxxiii. fig. 7), possibly once filled up with metal. Above these there are a number of iron pins, as if for the attachment of another metal cross, added probably on the occasion of the second consecration.

The most elaborate specimens of these crosses are at St. Mary Ottery, Devon; they are carved in high relief on shields borne by angels, within moulded panels, a quatrefoil in a square. Thirteen still exist, six being inside. Those outside are placed under the centres of the windows. Inside there is one on each side of the west door. Most of them have marks of remains of iron brackets for light inside.

In some cases the central cross at the east end was made more magnificent than the others for the sake of architectural effect. Among these more elaborate forms, we may I think class the crucifix which is carved in stone under the east windows of some churches. At Chisledon, Wilts, there is in this position a medallion, about 18 inches across, within which is carved a crucifix with St. Mary and St. John; thirteenth century work. Coggeshall, Essex, has a similar crucifix, and there is another at Purton, Wilts. At Preshute near Marlborough, there is a carved medallion, 14 inches in diameter, with an elaborate floriated cross; but the church has been thoroughly "restored," and I am not sure that it is *in situ*.

List of Consecration Crosses, in addition to those mentioned above :—

Pevensey, Sussex (Pl. xxxvii. fig. 8).—An elaborate floriated cross in black and red, on inside plaster of south chancel wall.

Brooke, Kent.—The whole walls of the chancel are covered with painted subjects in medallions, 2 feet in diameter; on each side of the east window there is a blue cross with red outline and circles round it (fig. 9), placed at the intersection of two of the medallions, about 7 feet above the floor. About the middle of the north and south walls there is, on each side, another cross (fig. 10) within a red quatrefoil. The tracery of the chancel window shows its date to be soon after the year 1300. The crosses are painted *over* the subjects in the

medallions, which are thus shown to be contemporary with the walls. The rest of the church is Norman; but the position of the crosses shows that the whole building was reconsecrated when the new decorated chancel was built.

St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester.—Cross painted red of type A on the back of a single sedile on the north side of the sanctuary.

Berkeley, Gloucestershire.—Three large crosses, $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter (Pl. xxxiii. fig. 11) inside, at west end, two high over the doorway and one on its north side. These have, unfortunately, been re-painted within the last few years quite a different red from what they were before.

Wolston, Gloucestershire.—Traces of nine crosses, belonging to at least two separate consecrations.

Inside.—1. Large red cross of type A, outline scratched on the plaster, and painted red, on east jamb of south-east chancel window (Perpendicular). (Pl. xxxiv. fig. 12.)

2. Smaller one on south jamb of chancel arch (fig. 13), 7 feet above the step.

3. Traces of cross on west jamb of south-east nave window.

Outside.—4. On west jamb of south door, 3 feet 7 inches above the floor.

The shape is unusual (fig. 14). The colour was all scraped off when the church was restored, but the scratched outline is still visible.

5 and 6. Crosses with curved limbs (fig. 15). Only traces of paint remain. These are on the west buttresses of the west Perpendicular tower.

7. Traces of cross on north-east nave buttress.

8 and 9. Outlines of two crosses on south wall of chancel.

All these outside are only from 3 to 4 feet above the ground.

This little church appears to have been consecrated three times, though no crosses remain on the small fragments that exist of the earliest part, which is very early Norman. The second consecration appears to have been at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the last when the chancel was rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.—There were remains of crosses painted on the inside plastering, but at a recent "restoration" the plaster was cut away, and the rough stone-work pointed. There still remains on the stone-work of the choir piscina a curious figure (fig. 16), which I think must have been meant

for a consecration mark, though it is not a cross. The colouring was all scraped off at the "restoration" of the church. The figure was blue on a red roundel. Traces of another similar one existed on the north jamb of the chancel arch. This six-leaved figure occurs so often in positions where one would expect to find a consecration cross, that it seems probable that it was meant for one.

Badgeworth, Gloucestershire.—Cross modelled in relief in plaster on north and south inside walls of chancel. Destroyed at "restoration" (fig. 17.)

Shurdington Chapelry, Gloucestershire.—Cross with trefoil ends, deeply incised (fig. 18), on east jamb of south door (Decorated), 4 feet from floor. Two crosses of deeply-cut lines, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, on jambs of north Norman door. A cross in a circle (fig. 19) outside chancel on south quoin of east wall, 3 feet from ground.

Priory of Stanley St. Leonards, Gloucestershire.—Cross of common early form on north Norman door-jamb (Pl. XXXIII. fig. 24).

Elkstone, Gloucestershire.—A similar cross on jamb of south Norman door.

Leckhampton, Gloucestershire.—A fine large cross of type A, outside south wall of chancel, deeply incised into the stone.

Swindon, Gloucestershire.—Cross 3 inches by 2 inches, of cuts with dots at ends, on south-east splay of Norman tower, at west, which is an irregular polygon in plan, 4 feet from ground.

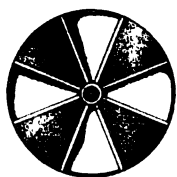
Kempley, Gloucester.—Cross in red on blue circle, painted on east wall, at the feet of the figure of the bishop. See *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVI. p. 192.

Oddington, Gloucestershire.—Cross of type A, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, 3 feet 6 inches from floor of porch, on jamb of south Norman door. It has a hole in the centre for fixing a metal cross. Outside north wall of chancel a cross with trefoil ends, carved in a circle, 22 inches in diameter, 5 feet from ground. Only half remains, and it is earlier than the fourteenth century wall, into which it is built.

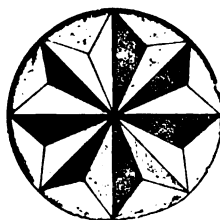
Ledbury, Gloucestershire.—Cross of type A, incised with sunk spandrels, about 3 inches in diameter on east jamb of north door.

Stowell, Gloucestershire.—Crosses of the early form (as fig. 24) outside, on west jamb of south door and on south wall near the south door.

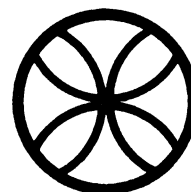
Iffley, Oxford.—An early form (fig. 20) on south jamb of west door, *circa* 1180.



20
Iffley, Oxford.



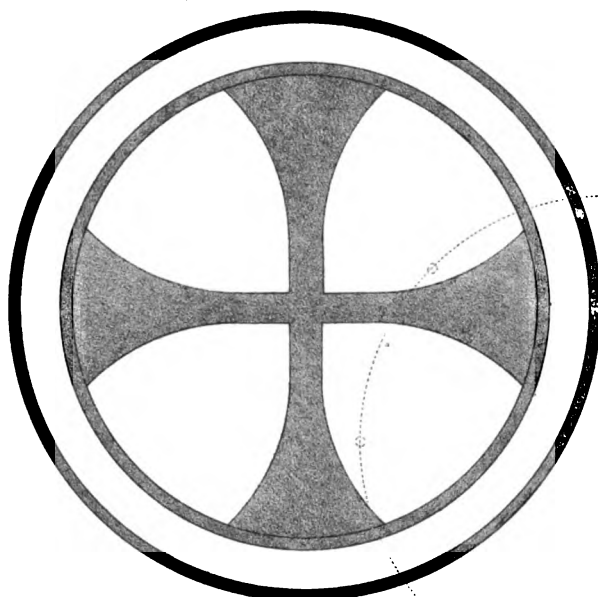
21
Studland, Dorsetshire.



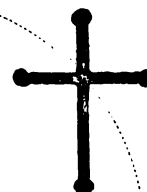
1
Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire.



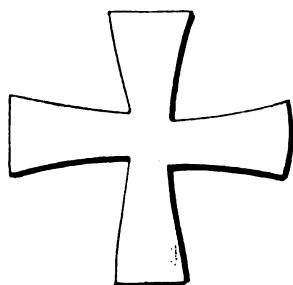
22
St Mary le Wigford,
Lincolnshire.



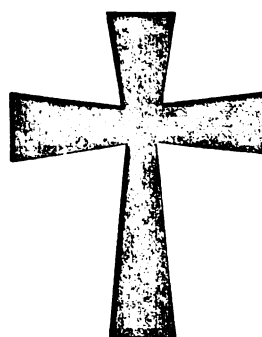
11
Berkeley, Gloucestershire.



24
Stanley St. Leonards,
Gloucestershire.



25.
Ulceby Lincolnshire



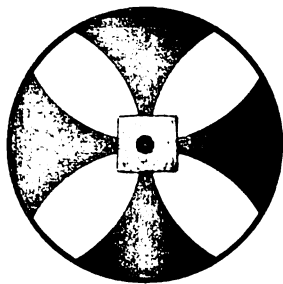
7
Chichester, Cathedral.

CONSECRATION CROSSES.

Nº 11 $\frac{1}{2}$, remainder $\frac{1}{3}$ full size.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1884.

C.F. Kellogg.

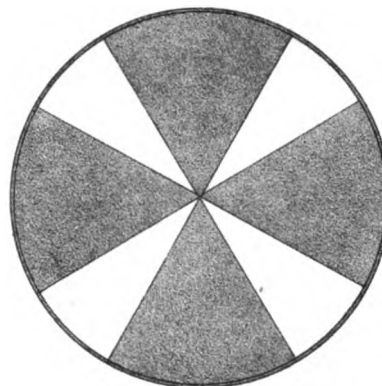


2. Henry VII's Chapel Westminster.



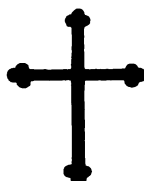
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Cheltenham Gloucestershire.



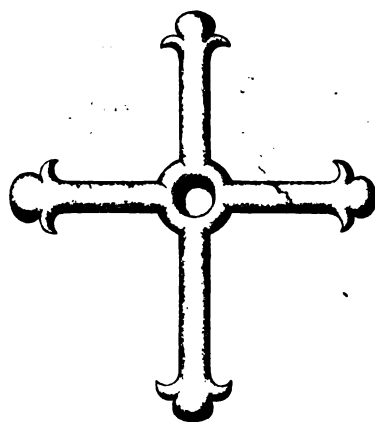
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Shurdington Gloucestershire.



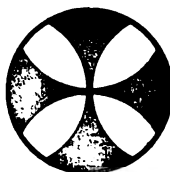
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Shurdington Gloucestershire



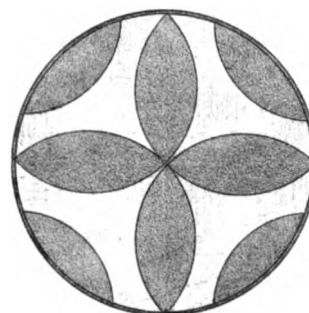
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Badgeworth Gloucestershire.



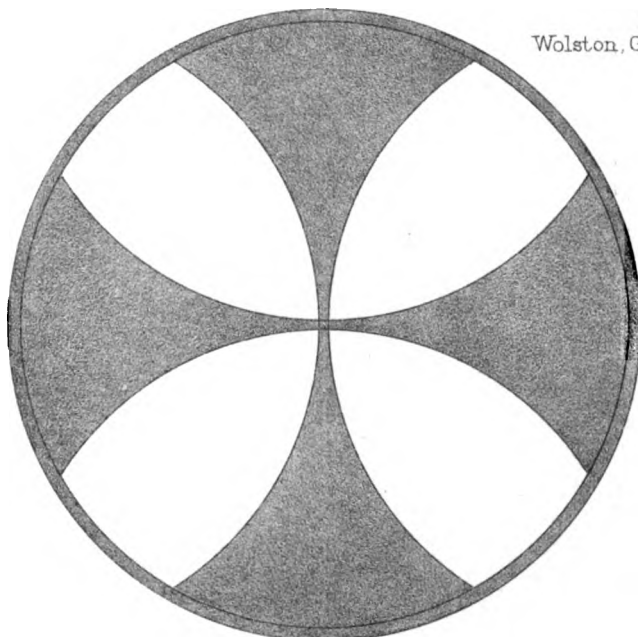
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Wolston Gloucestershire.



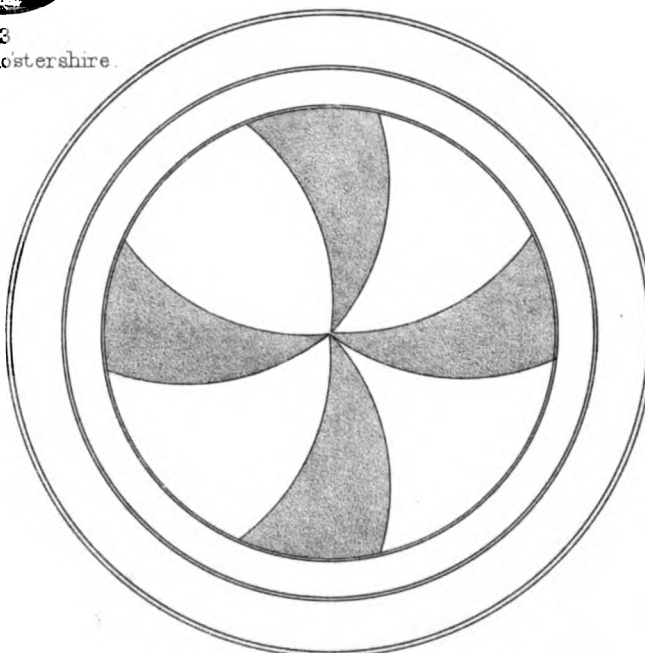
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Wolston Gloucestershire



12

Wolston Gloucestershire.



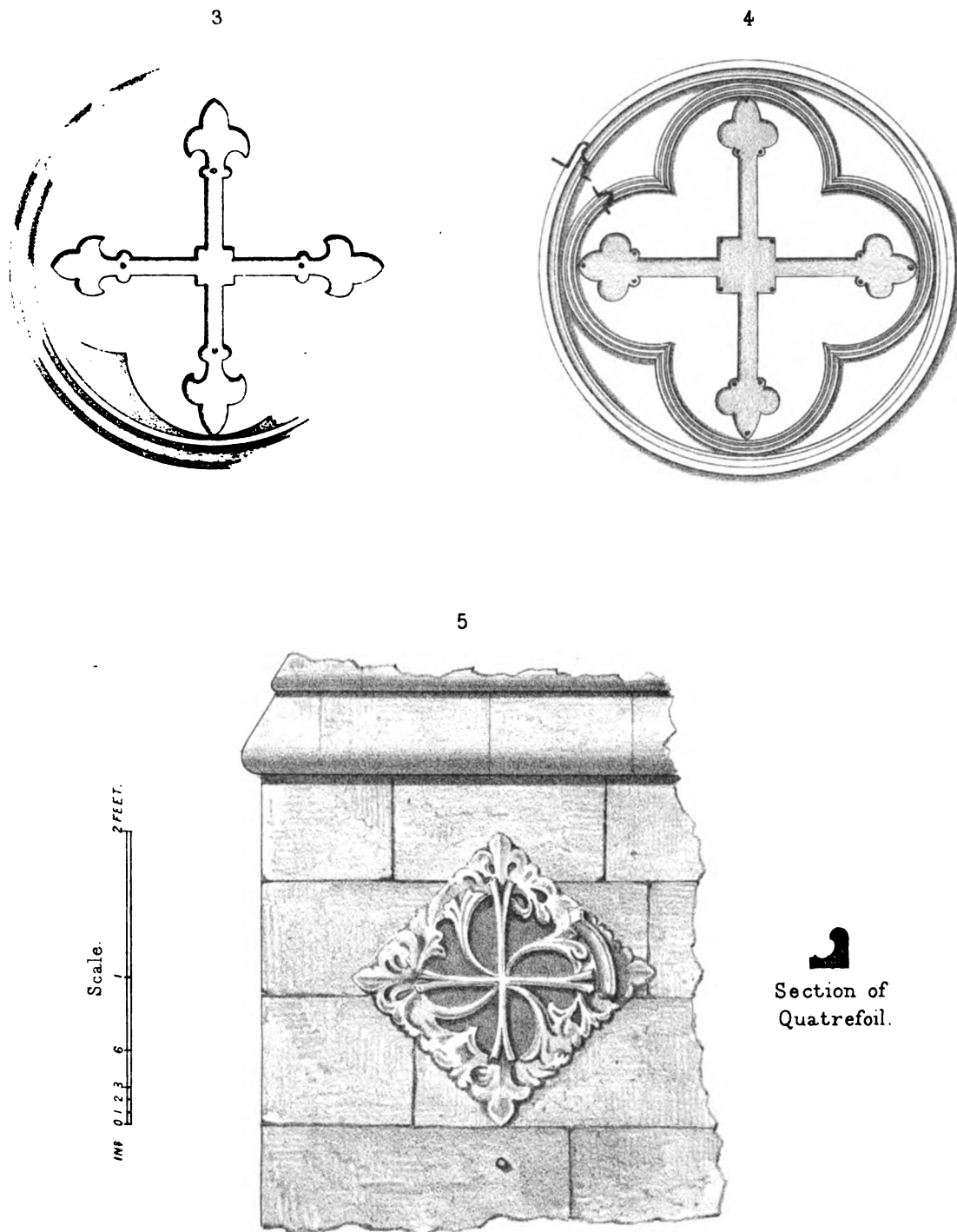
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CONSECRATION CROSSES.

Scale $\frac{1}{3}$ full size.

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C F Keble, lith

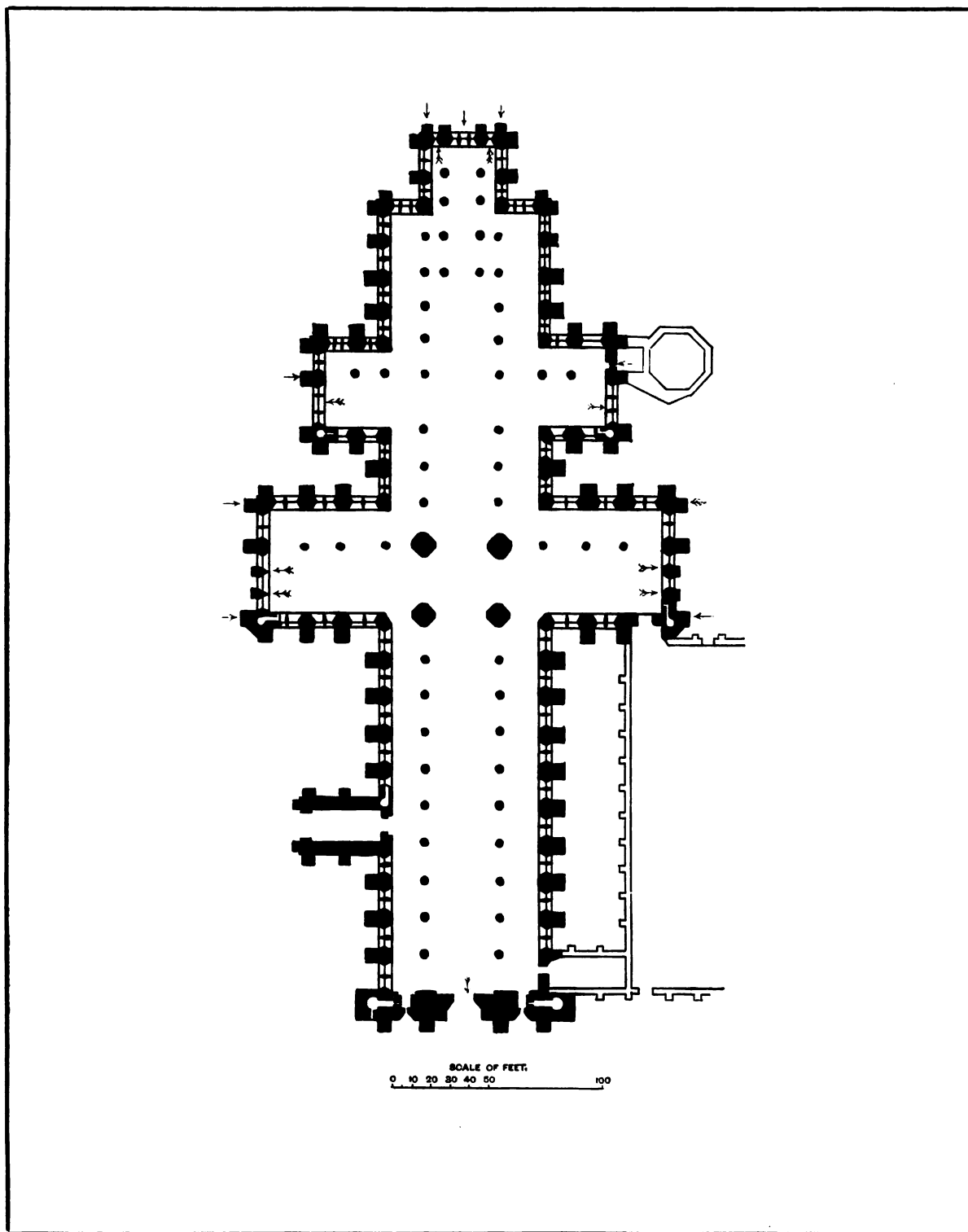


CONSECRATION CROSSES.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

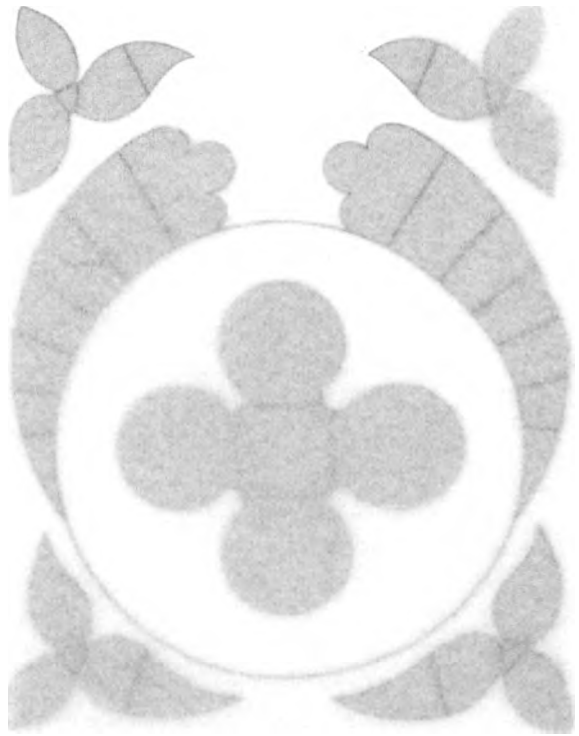
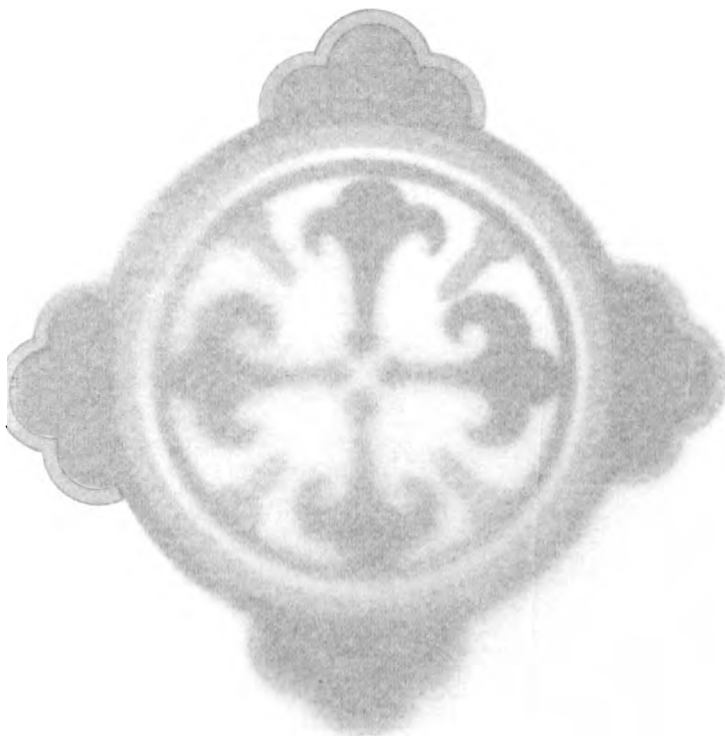
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1884.

C.F. Kell Lith.



PLAN OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

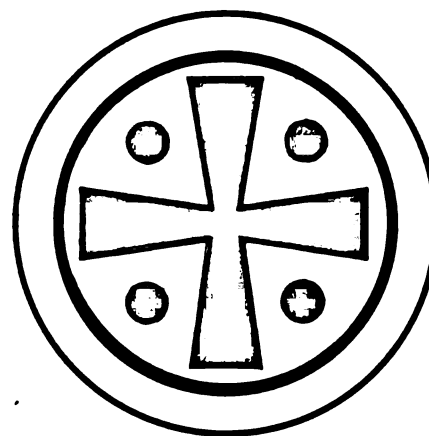
Showing the position of the Consecration Crosses.





10

Brooke, Kent.

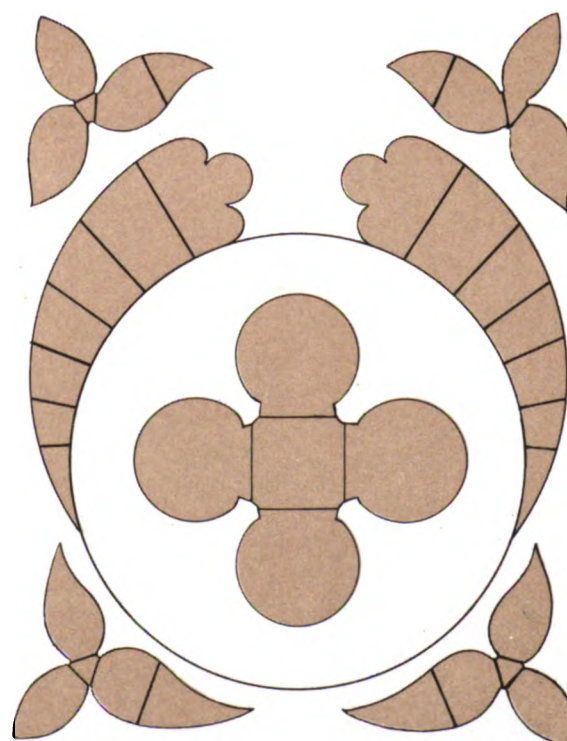


9



8

Pevensey, Sussex.



23

Blythborough, Suffolk.

CONSECRATION CROSSES.

Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ full size.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1884.

C.F. Keil, lith.

Studland, Dorset.—Another early form outside north wall of Norman chancel (fig. 21), about seven feet from ground.

St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln.—On outside of north aisle wall, Early English (fig. 22), a small cross of type A, deeply incised.

Old Chapel, now the library, Pembroke College, Cambridge.—Remains of two crosses of type A, painted red, on east wall, inside. They are eleven inches in diameter, and are painted over some flowing decoration in black on the plaster.

Uffington, Berks.—A curious set of crosses are described in the *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xii. p. 154.

Blofield, Norfolk.—A large cross in circle, painted red with black outline, inside, on middle of north wall of north aisle.

Blythborough, Suffolk.—Quatrefoil or cross inlaid in flint (Pl. xxxvii. fig. 23), two outside east wall of chancel, 4 feet 6 inches from ground, and one on each side, on choir buttresses, just above the plinth. They have traces of paint on them. A plain square of ashlar stone is let in under the east window, and there are other square slabs on which probably the remaining crosses were painted, at various points along the north and south.

Thirsk, Yorks.—Cross inside, in south aisle (see *Churches of Yorkshire*, p. 8), since destroyed.

Little Braxted, Essex.—Two crosses, dark red in green circle, painted on plaster.

Edington, Wilts.—Two crosses, carved in stone, under west windows of aisles, date 1361.

Barfreston.—Three crosses at east end of chancel, inside, painted on plaster. Two near the corners above the stone string-course, and one below, under the east window (see drawing in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries).

Hardwick, Cambridgeshire.—Crosses inside chancel, above the paintings on the plaster (see *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xx. p. 316).

South Ferriby, Lincolnshire.—There is an eleventh-century tympanum of a door, not now *in situ*, carved in relief with figure of a bishop in the centre, and plain cross with expanding ends at each side.

Ulceby, Lincolnshire.—Cross, in relief, about $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch, with hole below for candlestick, not *in situ*. Early Norman. (Pl. xxxiii. fig. 25.)

Roscrea, Ireland.—In gable over west Norman door; a relief carved with figure and similar crosses at his feet, the whole design very like that at South Ferriby.

In the foregoing examples I have not included any from the Continent, though there are some instances, especially in Italy, where the crosses are made a very important ornamental feature.

An instance of second consecration (mentioned and illustrated in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 275) should be noted. This is at the very early church of St. John, Syracuse, where both the earlier and later crosses, carved in relief, exist, one over the other. Under one of these pairs a tablet is let into the wall, with an inscription recording the fact that both are dedication crosses, the lower one being the older.

A graceful form of cross exists at the Ste. Chapelle, Paris, where they are carved on roundels, held by full-length statues of saints and angels.

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